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Art. I. *Memoirs of General Washington.* By GEORGE BANCROFT.
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NAVIGATORS in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when they first descried the shores of a new world, had few or no ideas with regard to the real importance of their discovery. Their dreams were all golden ones, in the basest sense of the expression. India, or the realms of Cathay; an El Dorado or the Zipangu of Marco Polo; a land of diamonds, painted birds, and pretty women in a state of nature; the paradise of Mussulmen to be rendered part and parcel of the patrimony of St. Peter;—these, and similar hallucinations left little space for sober truth, and the realities of life. Could they but have been informed that America was to be the scene of trial, on which social and political problems would be solved to the astonishment of all Europe;—that republics would one day cover nearly the whole continent; that despotic princes, aristocracies, and hierarchies would there have their inutility demonstrated;—it may well be conceived that popes would never have blessed transatlantic enterprises, and that the Catholic Isabella would have sent Christopher Columbus about his business.

A fresh volume of knowledge was, however, put into the hands of mankind; and every speculator, whether sophist, soldier, or fortune-hunter, turned over some new leaf of it. The pages were all so full of moving pictures, that Europe read and ran. Selfishness started up into a Colossus striding across the seas; at once the idol and wonder-working monument of the age. Such an influx of the precious metals occurred as to affect values in every civilized region. Silver seemed in the way of becoming common as stones, as it was in Jerusalem during the days of Solomon. Adventurers founded kingdoms, overturned dynasties,

supplanted the children of the Sun and the Moon, sent home shiploads of ingots and plate, and put old fabulists to the blush, in the blazonry of their transcendent exploits. But the greatest marvels remained behind; as yet unseen and untold. Out of a chaos of cruelty and confusion, order without tyranny, prosperity without taxes, states without crowns, coronets, or standing armies, were to arise; and stranger than all, religion was to flourish, without either Right Reverend Fathers in God, or any other establishment. *Credat Judæus Apella*, would Bartolomæo Las Casas have exclaimed, when he was countenancing a negro slave-trade to spare the Indians! Meanwhile, onward flowed the years of many generations. Mammon, ambition, and curiosity worked their way; surpassed for the most part by ecclesiastical persecution. That famous verity, 'Orthodoxy is my doxy, and 'heterodoxy is another person's doxy,' was acted out by those in power, long before Bishop Warburton's definition could have dared to pass current. James and Charles Stuart knew themselves to be the Anointed of the Lord, as indeed did their children after them; and their behaviour was consistent with their creed. The emigrants, who disembarked upon the rock of Plymouth, were puritans in faith, and republicans in policy; flying from the tender mercies of Laud, Strafford, and the Star Chamber. Here lay the mind, which afterwards leavened the whole land from Penobscot to Pensacola. Their charter, singular to say, empowered them to select whatever form of government should be most agreeable to themselves, provided only that its laws were not repugnant to those of Great Britain. How such a grant ever could have emanated from the despots and dunces at home, has always been matter of surprise. Virginia was settled rather earlier, in the former and more peaceful period of James's reign. Hence, as religion had less to do with this colony, it manifested considerable sympathy with the principles of royalism at home; being the last to acknowledge the protectorate, and the foremost in hailing the Restoration. The Church of England was regularly established. So unbroken was its uniformity, that when Washington was a young man, not a single place of worship either for Roman Catholics or Protestant Dissenters existed. A portion of the country, however, had been severed under Charles the First to form Maryland, which Lord Baltimore, a Romanist, gladly accepted as a place of refuge for those, who like himself, were expatriated by *soi disant* Protestants in England; appropriate prototypes and progenitors to the Exeter Hall and Orangemen in our own day. No less than 200 Catholic families accompanied his lordship to this asylum about the year 1635: and it was afterwards found that neither the loyalty of Virginia, nor the popery of Baltimore, could remain proof against the charms of liberty. The mighty struggle for the rights of man fused them

all down into one mass ; without excepting any pacific or peculiarly passive propensities, which Penn might have been supposed to have stamped upon Pennsylvania ; or Berkeley, and Carteret, or the ancestors of Rip Van Winkel, upon New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. North and South Carolina remembered and applied to themselves the doctrines of Locke, long after his constitution of Caziques had been consigned to the limbo of vanities. Georgia had witnessed with slight emotion the enthusiastic zeal of Wesley and Whitefield. It was the weakest and least healthy of all the provinces ; forming a strong contrast to New England, the head and hand of the Union, divided into four sections, and subsequently branching into the prosperous states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.

The connexion between these colonies and the Mother country was of a simple and general nature. They had amongst them, in considerable force, the fundamental principles of the British constitution, strengthened and based upon the industry, hardihood, and free habits of thought, entertained by English, Irish, Scotch, Swedish, Dutch, and German settlers. A mixture of sects, in the middle and southern provinces, threw off in the process of wholesome fermentation, much of the illiberality and fanaticism, which for some generations disgraced their Northern neighbours. These again, in their turn, grew wiser, as prosperity warmed them into more intercourse with others ; and enabled them to circulate their political opinions at Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Charleston. They were all far enough from Great Britain, to be free from many of those drawbacks and disadvantages, which an antiquated and corrupt aristocracy had engrained into her government and society. It has been justly remarked that, while the representative system prevailed as the basis of all equitable legislation, and commercial greatness, there was not a borough-proprietor in the colonies, nor an opportunity (with one exception) for public oppression and subserviency. Slavery was that anomalous exception ; and it affected indeed the whole country, wherever it prevailed. Slaves raised the tobacco, rice, and indigo, the most valuable articles of export, and the products of the middle and southern regions. North of New York there were few negroes. But this painful part of the subject will be again forced upon the reader's attention, before the close of the present article. The hero of the American Revolution was himself a slave-holder.

George Washington was born on the 22nd of February, 1732, at Bridges Creek, in the county of Westmoreland, in the province of Virginia. He was the eldest son of Augustine Washington, by his second wife Mary Ball. His father had been married before to Jane Butler, who bore him three sons and a daughter ;

and by his second lady, he had four boys and two girls. The great grandfather of this gentleman, John Washington, was the original emigrant in 1657. We are informed that his wealth and influence were extensive in his own country; nor is it clearly ascertained, what induced him to leave it. His illustrious descendant rather prided himself upon the gentility of his origin; and had his coat-of-arms carefully engraven even upon his two golden-headed canes mentioned in his last will and testament. Few authentic notices have been preserved of his early boyhood; yet it is evident that from its commencement, a love of truth, sobriety of mind, clearness of judgment, and closeness of observation, formed the staple materials of his character. He was fond of arithmetic and geometry: and it was at one period doubtful, whether he should go to sea, or become a land-surveyor. His father's death, when George had just touched the eleventh year of his age, left him under the care of his mother, and decided his choice. She could not endure the idea of a naval life for her son; and the lad proved too dutiful to thwart her inclinations. At sixteen, he therefore engaged in business as a practical surveyor: when, youth as he was, his pen was often in his hand to record the events of every day in a rough diary kept for his own use; as also to compile various treatises apparently for future publication. Such were his 'Rules of Civility and decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation.' His occupation seems to have been not unsuitable to his future career; since, besides imposing habits of strict attention to the surface of the soil, and general localities, on a large range and scale, it led him out on extensive tours through the Alleghany Mountains, accustoming him to hardships and privations.

At eighteen, Washington made a voyage to Barbadoes, with his elder half-brother, Lawrence, who had been attacked by a pulmonary disorder, which terminated his existence in 1752, after he had just lived to return to his estate of Mount Vernon on the Potomac. By his death, it became the property and seat of the future liberator of America: and such was the opinion entertained of the young proprietor's ability, that although no more than nineteen, he was nominated one of the Adjutants-general of Virginia with the rank of major; and a fourth part of the colony for his district. Private papers show that for some time before receiving this appointment his propensities had taken a strong military turn; and that during his excursion to the West Indies, no opportunity was lost of attending to whatever might promote and complete a knowledge of the profession. Scenes, ushering in the Seven Years' War, soon afforded abundance of employment; as would be seen, had we room for details. But now it was, that as colonel in command, he entered upon a training for another and more important contest. His service from August 1755 to

the close of 1758, when at last his object of taking Fort Duquesne was attained, and he claimed permission to retire, procured for him nothing in the way of compensation, beyond a deep knowledge of mankind, and a thorough command over himself. During this period, he learned to follow the dictates of duty, even at the sacrifice of military renown. His patience, his patriotism, and his disinterestedness, were all refined and hardened in a furnace of the severest trial. He was taught to be greater in defeat and disappointment, than others have been in a career of triumphs. He had to wage war, with slender means, with slight success, and with no prospect of reversionary fame. His health and strength were consumed in seeing his plans fail through the ignorance and blunders of other men. He was compelled to witness train after train of evils, without the smallest resources for their alleviation. He lived amidst the perils of battle, without the occurrence of a single event to strike upon the public mind, any more than during the monotony of profoundest peace. There was neither discipline, nor order, nor the proper payment of taxes, nor regular recruiting, nor a commissariat. He had to defend a frontier of 300 miles with 1500 men. If he made a stand, he lost every thing but his honour. If he marched, he gained nothing but the curses of those in his neighbourhood, who were thus abandoned to the enemy. Yet it is remarkable, that amidst all these complications of disaster, the mass of the people sincerely admired his conduct; and his soldiers were enthusiastic in their personal attachment to him. Every body saw and knew that he did his best; that his motives were pure, his virtues unsullied, his intentions excellent, his plans comprehensive. He waded through dangers, where none beside would have ventured into the current at all. He learned to create resources within himself; to gather an opportunity whilst or whenever it happened to be in flower; to make a series of small successes answer in the place of larger and more splendid ones; to preserve in perpetuity the equipoise of his mind, and render defeat itself the very means of achieving victory. Before the termination of 1758, the British having taken possession of Fort Duquesne, where Pittsburgh now stands, the Birmingham of America, he devoted himself for fifteen years to the pursuits of agriculture.

Indeed, his favorite title, throughout the remainder of his life, was 'The Farmer of Mount Vernon.' His ample estate lay along the banks of the Potomac, comprising 9,000 acres under his own management, besides other tracts of immense extent and value. Soon after the resignation of his commission, he married Mrs. Martha Custis, a rich and amiable widow, with whom he is said to have had a fortune of £20,000 sterling, besides her dower in one of the principal properties of Virginia. He lived like one

of the old kings of pastoral antiquity, in the midst of his labourers and dependents;

Σκηπτρον εχων εστηκει επ' ογμου γηθοσυνος κηρ.

Every branch of his business was conducted upon system; and with the most exact economy. He personally inspected the accounts of his overseers at certain intervals. His farms were separated into sections, which were all numbered; and the produce of each being registered, he could always ascertain at one view the profit or loss of any particular lands or their crops, and compare the relative advantages of his various modes of husbandry. The Mount Vernon estate produced him one year no less than 7,000 bushels of wheat, and 10,000 of Indian corn; an extraordinary return for that time of day, of which he was not a little proud. His establishments contained 1,000 persons, including slaves. He obtained the greater part of his farming utensils and implements from London, but manufactured at home coarse woollens and linens for the use of his family, or at least of his negroes. Cyrus Edmonds, his English biographer, has properly remarked that, 'It must appear to be a monstrous anomaly that the successful 'champion of the freedom of the New World, brave, generous, 'and humane as he undoubtedly was, should himself have been 'the possessor of a multitude of slaves; that they constituted no 'small proportion of his property; and that their dearest interests 'were held at his disposal, or by him delegated to the disposal of 'others. Perhaps this is the one blemish upon the history of 'George Washington, which no palliation can mitigate or conceal. 'It is futile to allege the custom of a nation and an age, which 'he so far transcended; and it is equally futile to allege the plea 'of necessity arising out of the state of society, since no man 'knew better than he, how null and void are all the claims of 'expediency when opposed to the immutable principles of 'justice. While we lament this strange inconsistency in his 'character, our only consolation is found in the fact of his having 'in after life reprobated by his example the detestable principles 'and practice, with which he had previously been chargeable. 'And it should be added, that all who knew him bore uniform 'testimony to the justice and humanity with which he lightened 'those burdens, which at the best are scarcely tolerable. It is 'only to be lamented, that in this solitary instance, he evinced a 'want of moral susceptibility and uprightness, for which in other 'respects he stood pre-eminent.'

The following extract from his will may here be given, as illustrating what has just been observed: 'Upon the decease of 'my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slaves which I hold

‘in my own right shall receive their freedom.’ To emancipate
‘them during her life, would, though earnestly wished by me, be
‘attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their
‘intermixture by marriage with the dower negroes, as to excite
‘the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences
‘from the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of
‘the same proprietor; *it not being in my power, under the tenure
‘by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them.* And
‘whereas, among those who will receive freedom according to
‘this devise, there may be some, who from old age or bodily in-
‘firmities, and others, who on account of their infancy, will be
‘unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all
‘who come under the first and second description, shall be com-
‘fortably clothed and fed by my heirs, while they live; and that
‘such of the latter description, as have no parents living, or if
‘living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be
‘bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-
‘five years; and in cases where no record can be produced,
‘whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the
‘court upon its own view of the subject, shall be absolute and
‘final. The negroes thus bound are (by their masters and mis-
‘tresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to
‘some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the common-
‘wealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and
‘other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale
‘or transportation out of the said commonwealth of any slave I
‘may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I
‘do moreover most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon
‘my executors hereinafter named, or the survivor of them, to see
‘that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be re-
‘ligiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take
‘place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which
‘may then be in the ground are harvested, particularly as it
‘respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and perma-
‘nent fund be established for their support, as long as there are
‘subjects requiring it; not trusting to the uncertain provision to
‘be made by individuals.’ This instrument bears date the 9th of
July, 1790.

There are some amusing stories told with reference to his
habits of exactness, which were occasionally carried out to a
whimsical excess: yet he was by no means a parsimonious neigh-
bour. He would assist any one to the uttermost of his power,
when it was manifestly a case of need. He kept an open house,
and a noble table. His duties as judge of the county-court were
fulfilled without remuneration; and upon the same principles he
served as representative of his district in the Virginian House of
Burgesses. Although no orator, he frequently spoke upon

practical subjects, commanding attention through the soundness of his sense, and its application to the daily details of life. As the important period of the revolutionary struggle approached, his mind expanded to the emergency, and by few was it surveyed with deeper or more searching sagacity.

In the early part of the French war, a meeting of the governors and leading persons in the provinces had been held at Albany. They resolved, after mature deliberation, that a general Council should be formed of members to be chosen by the provincial Assemblies; which council, together with a governor, to be appointed by the crown, should be authorized to make general laws, and also *to raise money from all the colonies* for their common defence. The British cabinet started at this apparition of an union, which was to meet their successors on another day, and realize the triumphs of liberty. A controversy now began, which lasted for twenty years; until waver of battle decided what the pen had long proved, to the satisfaction of all sensible men in Europe. But it cannot be denied that at the peace of Paris in 1763, there had existed for nearly a century some small revenue collected in the American Colonies subject to the disposition of the parliament of the Mother country. See the 12th and 25th Charles II., 6 George II., and the Act of Navigation. Tobacco and indigo, the produce of the middle and southern districts, were restrained from being carried thence to any other place than the sister plantations, or Great Britain, without certain duties being levied, before the goods went on board any vessel for exportation. Foreign rum, sugar, and molasses, also paid small imposts on their importation into the colonies. Yet, without going into the distinction between external and internal taxes, or those raised for revenue as being different from those levied for the mere regulation of trade, it formed no valid argument against colonial claims, that they had been trampled under foot, during the period of their nonage, when there happened to be no ability to substantiate them. The right assumed by the first Congress at Albany was just this;—That the entire system of taxation which it developed should be founded upon a full and free representation of those who were to be subject to the impost. But such an idea was death to the usurpations of a proud peerage, who looked upon the plantations as the fat pastures of patronage; as of no further use than to mend broken fortunes; as rich though distant mines of wealth to be worked by the natives, cost what it might, for the exclusive benefit of those who condescended to go out to them, invested with the robes of office. Here lay the whole nucleus of the dispute within the compass of a nut-shell. The two antagonist principles of oligarchy and democracy, gathering their forces from opposite quarters of the firmament, were about to meet in fierce collision. The real origin of that collision was

to be sought for far back in some primæval period of society : its result will be ever recognized, until the globe shall be no more. This is what made Sir James Mackintosh call the establishment of American independence the principal event of civil history.

Several subsidiary causes assisted in bringing on the main catastrophe. One of them was smuggling. Senators legislated with laughable gravity. Custom-houses and revenue-cutters were multiplied. Orders in council thundered unutterable things against illicit practices : yet all the while, nothing increased but the vast fungus of corruption. The returns to the treasury were in a galloping consumption. The legal and contraband trades flowed in marvellous contrast to each other. The West India interest, as it was called, now caught the alarm ; and fresh measures were set in motion to suppress, what can never be safely suppressed,—the natural tendencies of mankind. Many American merchants had embarked large capitals in the prohibited commerce, simply because it was profitable. The new plans of government could not annihilate the system so long as it held out hopes of a tempting harvest ; but like Samson's foxes, they destroyed property and profit to an immense extent, and scattered the fire-brands of discontent and mischief far and wide. They hurt, moreover, both friends and foes. Spain had long endeavoured in vain to prevent the clandestine interchange of commodities between her settlements and British ports, so advantageous to the latter : this was done for her, by the sages of Gotham, then constituting the cabinet in London. Their instructions given to the naval officers employed made no distinctions. The coasting and foreign trades, from Boston to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, and thence to Lisbon and the Straits, suffered severely. A succession of seizures opened innumerable sources of ill-humour. Abuse and contempt were poured upon the ordinances of the mother country, and those who felt bound to execute them. In other words the relations of America to Great Britain underwent a gradual but decisive change. One side was assuming an attitude of resistance rather than submission ; the other had long continued a course of domination rather than protection. At length an Act passed, in the Autumn of 1764, of heinous absurdity and injustice. It authorised the once lucrative intercourse between the North Americans and the French and Spanish harbours, inconsistent as that was with the letter of colonial charters ; yet at the same moment, such duties were imposed upon sugars, indigo, coffee, East India silks and calicoes, foreign cambrics and lawns, as amounted to a prohibition ; and all offenders against the law were to be prosecuted in the Admiralty Court, deprived of trial by jury. The minister gave out that he had a two-fold object in view,—to regulate colonial commerce, and raise a revenue on port, sherry, and Madeira wines,

and on coffee and pimento, grown in the British West Indies. The latter intention was recited in a preamble, with most cool effrontery. Another Bill also went through both houses, and received the royal assent, tampering with the paper currency. Next year followed the Stamp Act; which had indeed been mentioned in the previous session, as if to afford due notice at what time the cup of iniquity would be full to overflowing. New England loudly declared that the conduct of parliament broke in upon her peculiar privileges, as well as on the Magna Charta of mankind. Old England declared it was not so; or at least, her aristocracy, paramount in the House of Commons, put that denial into her mouth; clapping their left hands upon their pockets, and the right upon their swords. George the Third threw his personal feelings into the scale of war and oppression. He was a farmer, like Washington, but as dull and obstinate as one of his own oxen at Windsor. Lord Bute and the bishops had filled his pericranium with notions of passive obedience; and having once yoked him to their plough, the colonies were to be the Aceldama of his dominions,—the everlasting reproach of his reign.

Virginia and the middle States took up the hue and cry; transmitting it from the Delaware to Georgia. Combinations grew out of the ground, sown as it was with the seeds of freedom and intelligence. In the mother country, a powerful parliamentary opposition unveiled all the folly of the crown; although amidst the immortal efforts of the first William Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Colonel Barré, justice was eloquent in vain. Doctor Johnson fulminated his celebrated pamphlet, 'Taxation no Tyranny;' his pension affording him 300 reasons per annum for the opinion he entertained. Philosophers of another and nobler grade also discussed the subject, and helped to enlighten the public mind through a free press,—that battering-ram of the middle classes, which is to level every abuse under the cope of heaven. Merchants, whose business had wasted away from the non-importation agreements, lifted up their voice in loud remonstrances. Yet ten years more of preliminary logomachy ensued, during which interval, the Grenvilles went out of power, to make room for the Rockingham Whigs; who, in their turn gave way to Lord Chatham and his gout, the infamy of the Duke of Grafton, and the good-natured, but presumptuous ignorance of Lord North. Where, through this momentous decade of years were the vaunted advantages of the matchless constitution? An arrogant nobility upheld their stolid sovereign against what they termed the dangerous doctrines of their day: while both cheered on an uneducated people to their ruin, amidst the blessings of an opulent church, and the votes of an unreformed parliament. Menaces and insolence roared across the Atlantic at the very crisis, when reason alone could be listened to; and on the con-

trary, concession without conciliation, or conciliation without concession, was always certain to be manifested, just when firmness and singleness of purpose were most required. Statesmen in England oscillated between their hopes and their fears; both the one and the other emanating all the time from the profoundest selfishness. The point rapidly arrived, when it would have been a solecism in politics for Great Britain any longer to have lorded it over America: and so after declarations to cover the loss of national dignity, and resolutions to lull and soothe, while bullets were casting, ships being builded, and cannon loaded;—after addresses to Lord Shelburn and his majesty, riots in Massachusetts, a convention from the provincial towns, the arrival of military forces in New England, disputes between the citizens and soldiers, remonstrances and partial redress of grievances, the loss of the East India Company's tea, followed up by the Boston Port Bill and its consequences;—the seizure and destruction of some public stores at Concord, at length led to an avowed commencement of hostilities on the 19th of April, 1775.

The eye of Washington had watched the cloud from the moment when it was no bigger than a man's hand. On the previous 18th of July, 1774, he had presided at a general meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants in his county of Fairfax. He there opened his whole mind, and moulded the fluctuating sentiments of Virginia into a consistency of form, suitable to its situation and circumstances. Resolutions carried by acclamation on that occasion, expressed an unequivocal denial of England's claim to tax the colonies, coupled with a determination to suspend all commercial intercourse, as well with her until she should abandon her pretensions, as with all parties in America itself, who should refuse to enter into similar agreements. A luminous statement was then given of the entire question at issue; and after sixteen motions had been passed unanimously, the chairman was gratified with the seventeenth, which is too interesting not to be copied verbatim: 'Resolved, that it is the opinion of this assembly that 'during our present difficulty and distress, no slaves ought to be 'imported into any of the British colonies on this continent; and 'we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes 'to see an entire stop for ever put to such a wicked, cruel, and 'unnatural trade.' Shame to the United States, that this profession of honesty wrung from them in the hour of trial, should have been forgotten when the storm had swept by, and left the sun of their prosperity unclouded. Washington personally meant well; and at all events was wishing to embark in the mighty contest before him with a clear conscience. He wrote to Bryan Fairfax not many weeks afterwards, that 'the crisis was arrived, when his 'countrymen must assert their rights, or submit to every imposition that could be heaped upon them, until custom and use

‘should make them tame and abject slaves :’ and he for one, was anxious from his heart, that no man, of whatever caste or colour, should be thus degraded. Perhaps his impression was a correct one, that at such a juncture nothing else could safely be done than pointing to prospective emancipation. Virginia then held in bondage nearly 300,000 negroes, as she does now upwards of 450,000; and not an iota of public attention could be spared from the approaching conflict. It is further remarkable that, until some time later, Washington, in common with other leading men in America, did not believe it the interest of his own province, or any other upon the continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence. It required more provocations, burnings, and bloodshed, to screw up their moral courage to the necessary pitch. It was in slowly ascending the hill Difficulty that their horizon enlarged; and wonderful it must then have appeared, that their previous aspirations had remained so limited. The following conversation is said to have occurred in 1759 between Mr. Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, and Dr. Franklin: ‘For all that you Americans say of your loyalty,’ observed Mr. Pratt, ‘I know you will one day throw off your dependence upon this country; and notwithstanding your boasted affection to it, will set up for yourselves.’ Franklin answered, ‘No such idea is entertained in the minds of the Americans: and no such idea will ever enter into their heads, *unless you grossly abuse them.*’ ‘Very true,’ replied Mr. Pratt, ‘but that is one of the main causes, *which I see will happen, and will produce the event.*’ Washington declares in a letter to Captain Robert Mackenzie, from Philadelphia, 9th of October, 1774, that he was well satisfied ‘no such thing was desired by any thinking men in all North America.’ Necessity was the schoolmistress who led them on, from the alphabet to the syntax, in the grammar of politics. Meanwhile, Mount Vernon had been exchanged by its proprietor for a seat in congress, where his assistance proved of first-rate importance in drawing up a series of able papers, which convinced all Europe that the revolution had been undertaken by those who at least knew how to decline the verb—to govern; and that there were heads to guide, and hearts to maintain a just application of its principles. After the sanguinary affair of Bunker’s Hill, Washington was unanimously elected general and commander-in-chief of the United Colonies and their forces.

On arriving at Cambridge, he was received by an army of 14,500 men with enthusiastic joy. His plan was to keep up their spirits, prepare them for the real hardships of warfare, and compel the British to evacuate Boston. This last matter he saw at once could be of no easy attainment. His soldiers were poorly provided with fire-arms, had very few bayonets, and only about nine rounds of powder and ball to each man. He promptly

pressed upon congress the appointment of a proper commissariat, the establishment of a marine, the formation of magazines, and the augmentation of the term of enlistment. But now began his fiery trials. His men in arms had volunteered, in the excitement produced by recent events, for twelve months only, without any ideas of military discipline; while every one in the minuteness of his individuality, fancied himself a hero. Congress itself had every thing yet to learn, as well as every thing to do. It was deemed patriotic, moreover, to be cautious in the extent of power which they entrusted even to their general! Never could a service have been conceived, offering so few attractions to a noble and magnanimous spirit. He had determined from the first to take no remuneration; which left him at least his disinterestedness to fall back upon in those moments, when nothing less could have sustained him amidst the difficulties of his position, and the ingratitude of his countrymen. As winter approached, his troops suffered all the bitterness of the season, through want of clothes, fuel, and provisions. On the 21st of September, 1775, he informed congress, that the military chest was totally exhausted; that the commissary-general had strained his credit in procuring assistance to the utmost; that the quarter-master-general stood in precisely similar circumstances; and that the greater part of the privates were in a state not far from mutiny, upon necessary deductions being made from their usual allowances. Nevertheless, on the 4th of March, 1776, he pushed forward a working-party of 1,200 men, under a guard of 800 more, to take possession of Dorchester Heights, which commanded Boston harbour. In this they succeeded. By day-break, they had thrown up respectable lines of defence. Though the British had twenty regiments in Boston, contempt for their antagonists procured a few hours respite for the latter. These handled spade and pick-axe for their liberties and lives. Sir William Howe wasted two days before his arrangements could be completed for an attack to dislodge them; and a storm then dispersed his transports. The golden moment in fact went by; so that on the 17th instant, the fleet was under full sail for Halifax, bearing away for ever, from the capital of New England, the last vestiges of its former masters. Such were the first-fruits of Washington's energy, skill, and perseverance.

Congress had meanwhile projected an expedition against Canada, which failed, as is well known; with the loss moreover, of the gallant General Montgomery. Washington moved to New York in April, since it was evident that the Hudson would be the scene of the next campaign. His greatest talents are supposed to have been shown in fortifying the Highlands on that river. On the 4th of July, came out the Declaration of Independence, which will ever prove to the civilized world, what the

Charta Chartarum has been to the three kingdoms;—a standard of reference, whereby the uprightness of nations may be measured. The day before this memorable document was published, Howe, who had refreshed his forces at Halifax, having returned southwards, landed on Staten Island with about 9,000 men. His brother, Lord Howe, soon joined him, bringing out reinforcements to the amount of 21,000 more. Yet no active aggression seems to have been attempted, until towards the end of August, after General Clinton had arrived; when, at the head of a division of 4,000 men, that officer disembarked without serious opposition in Gravesend Bay, on Long Island, the possession of which must always be essential to the attack or defence of New York. The battle of Brooklyn ensued on the 27th. During the heat of it, Washington is said for an instant to have lost his equanimity, moved by the slaughter of his best troops, at which he burst out into violent exclamations of grief. His losses were indeed immense, but utterly unavoidable. He did well the only thing that could then be done. The wreck of his army, without any further loss of cannon, stores, ammunition, or men, than had occurred in the action, was removed in such admirable silence and order, that although the sound of the British entrenching tools could be distinctly heard by the Americans, their escape favoured by a mist remained unperceived, until their rear was out of the reach of fire. He was hardly off his horse, and never once closed his eyes for forty-eight hours. All acknowledged the retreat to have been a master-piece.

As matter of course New York now fell into the hands of Sir William Howe. One-third of the city became a prey to the flames, kindled by some of the citizens themselves before they left it. From Paul's Hook a strong detachment of patriots witnessed the conflagration, and gave three significant cheers, when the steeple of the old English church sank down in the fire. Washington encamped on the heights of Haarlem, and fought the battle of the White Plains on the 28th of October. His raw levies experienced another defeat; which led to no results, except such as might easily have been avoided, namely, the sacrifice of two garrisons, with their artillery, at forts Lee and Washington. These ought to have been withdrawn, and would have been so, had it not been for Generals Green and Putnam, in favour of whose united opinion, the commander-in-chief had waived his own better judgment. He showed, however, his great mind, in appropriating to himself the whole blame of these, and some similar miscarriages. His troops, thoroughly disheartened, now began to desert by fifties at a time. His regulars were badly armed, worse clad, and almost without tents, blankets, or the means of dressing their provisions. All were in full flight before a victorious and ruthless foe. Having no shoes, their lacerated

feet left every where traces of blood upon the ground. December had set in unusually cold. The two Howes proclaimed peace and pardon to all who would secede from an apparently desperate cause; nor could it be expected that such appeals to loyalty and prudence would be without effect. Had the liberator of America now quailed, the germ of his country's independence would undoubtedly have died. But on the contrary, he continually soothed and cheered his dejected followers. His countenance was serene, placid, and unembarrassed. He committed every disaster to memory in its most minute details, that he might be wiser in future; and though such troubles dropped into the very depths of his heart, they never emerged above the surface. None would have guessed at the agony within, from the majesty and composure of his external demeanor. Having conveyed the remains of his baggage to the south of the Delaware, he sent out 1,200 men to re-animate the people of Jersey by some appearances of aggression: and the first moments of repose were devoted to expostulations with congress. He told them that he was thwarted at every turn through their mismanagement, and his want of sufficient authority to improve favourable opportunities: 'I have 'no lust after power,' he observes in a letter, 'but wish with as 'much fervency as any man to turn the sword into a plough-share. 'But my feelings as an officer and a man have been such as to 'force me to say, that no person ever had a greater choice of 'difficulties to contend with than I have. It may be thought I 'am going beyond the line of my duty to speak thus. A character to lose, an estate to forfeit, the inestimable blessings of 'liberty, and a life devoted, must be my apology.' He had relied much upon the counsels and conduct of General Lee; when that commander was unfortunately captured at a house where he was breakfasting without sufficient precautions, whilst on an expedition in Morris county. Chagrined as Washington was, at so unexpected a stroke, it threw him in upon his own resources. Something like a brilliant effort had become absolutely necessary to keep downright despair from his doors. Lord Cornwallis had overrun the Jerseys; but hampered with strict orders, from Sir William Howe, not to pursue the Americans beyond Brunswick, he had paused there; while the British, instead of being so disposed as to preserve their extensive conquests by keeping in masses, were cantoned out in small detachments, of which the four frontier posts were Trenton, Bordenton, White Horse, and Burlington. General Washington lay just opposite the first of these places: of which he formed the happy idea of attempting a surprise. While several ingenious manœuvres amused a body of foreigners stationed at Bordenton, Washington crossed the river Delaware at dead of night on the 25th of December, and stole

unawares upon Colonel Rhalle, at Trenton. He and his soldiers were Hessians, and excessively dreaded by the provincials. But the latter, now poured in a tremendous fire from a few field-pieces they had brought with them. The colonel fell mortally wounded. His troops attempted to file away towards Princeton, but were intercepted through the prompt foresight of their assailant: and the entire battalion was compelled to surrender themselves prisoners; 1000 men, with six large cannons, 1000 stand of arms, besides other very valuable stores.

So bright a flash of success electrified the middle states. Cornwallis and Howe seemed either bewildered or paralyzed. The bare loss of the Hessians was after all to them but a flea-bite. They might have joined their forces, amounting together to 30,000 men, and have swept their opponents from the country. Yet such is the intrinsic weakness of a bad cause, as opposed to the moral strength of a good one, that within eight days, Washington had obtained reinforcements, and at the head of 5000 militia recovered East and West Jersey, revived a spirit of patriotism along the Rariton, penetrated into the county of Essex, and made himself master of the coast opposite Staten Island. He seized Newark, Elizabeth-Town, and Woodbridge; finally fixing his winter quarters at Morristown, a strong position, with noble districts for affording supplies in his rear, and through which he could at any moment secure an easy transit over the Delaware. This was in January 1777. He had turned the tables upon his antagonists with wonderful address; for of their recent possessions in the Jerseys, nothing now remained to them except Brunswick and Amboy. He now, therefore, asserted the dignity of his government and office. Proclamations were published in his name absolving all persons from their lately tendered allegiance to Great Britain; and promising them that protection, which they had failed to obtain from their foreign masters. In fact, Howe's army had plundered them like wolves. The people rallied at once, with scarcely an exception, under the banners of the republic. Washington never wanted correct information; and from his fortresses in the mountains, down he came upon every excursion which the garrison at Brunswick made for forage. By these efforts he established his fame, and laid up a stock of good spirits against darker days. Enlistments indeed proceeded slowly; yet they were for three years instead of one; with an additional bounty of an hundred acres of land for such as would serve for the whole war. About the same time 20,000 muskets, and 1000 barrels of powder arrived from France and Holland, through the agency of the celebrated dramatist Carron de Beaumarchais. The commander-in-chief took an opportunity of inaction to have all his men inoculated; to clear off all wagons, horses, and cattle, from

the enemy's lines; to effect an exchange of prisoners; augment his corps of artillerists and engineers; and endeavour to raise 3000 cavalry.

These last, however, were as yet only among the Pleasures of Hope: the actual state of the patriotic forces was wretched in the extreme. Sir William Howe, from the vigour of their frequent sallies, never would nor could have conceived an idea of the real state of things in their camp. They themselves looked for success, almost mainly from the concealment of their comparative weakness. Their regiments would every now and then dwindle to skeletons, such as Falstaff might have claimed for his own. Yet again they would suddenly revive, from the force of public opinion—some transient gleam of prosperity—some fresh appeal from Congress—and above all from sincere affection for their great commander. He, as well as his countrymen, never forgot that they had to fight *pro aris et focis*. This single conviction was a source of wonderful power: and another was a circumstance already alluded to; the quality and quantity of local information within reach of the respective parties. The one appeared to know every thing; the other to know nothing. One side seemed never to lose its way; the other always did so more or less. There was something like a guiding intelligence ever moving between the rival hosts: but while it proved cloud and darkness to those, it was a light and leader by night and day to these. General Washington always made the most of so peculiar an advantage; and it was well he did. As the spring opened, immense reinforcements were expected from England, for winter-ships had been put into commission; Lord North was strengthening his majorities; and the heads of the church had ordained a fast-day. Bills were, moreover, passed for securing and trying persons charged with high treason. Letters of marque had some time been issued; yet hitherto American privateers had taken most prizes. In March, an expedition under Colonel Bird destroyed a depôt at Peek's Kill; and another in April, under Governor Tryon from New York, committed Danbury, in Connecticut, to the flames. In May, the provincials retaliated at Saggy Harbour on Long island, where a dozen English brigs and sloops were burnt, a quantity of provisions consumed, and some prisoners taken. Such enterprises only deepened the horrors of the contest. At the latter end of the month, Washington established himself at Middlebrook, north of the road through Brunswick to Philadelphia, whereby he could succour either that town by crossing the Delaware, or reinforce Ticonderoga against Burgoyne. Neither feint nor menace induced him to hazard an open engagement: so that after several smart skirmishes, Sir William Howe proceeded to the Chesapeake, where he landed with the flower of his armament at Elk Ferry, on the 25th of August, 1777. Washington was

there before him ; for Congress had laid strict injunctions upon their general, that at all events Philadelphia must not be suffered to fall, without a strenuous effort being made on its behalf. He consequently felt obliged, in this instance, to depart from his Fabian tactics, and came to a direct halt on the Brandywine. Its results, however, he had too accurately predicted. His effective men were about 7000. Cornwallis, by a circuit of some miles, crossed the forks of the river, and turned his right. Yet immense spirit and gallantry were manifested in the action on the 11th of September: so much so, that neither the complete victory of the royalists, nor the subsequent defeat of Wayne, produced the despondency amongst the provincials, which had been anticipated. They had even disposed themselves for another battle on the 15th; when a tremendous storm separated the combatants. On the 27th, Lord Cornwallis took peaceable possession of Philadelphia. Sir William Howe with the Hessian chasseurs, some light infantry, the queen's rangers, and the fortieth regiment, lay some time at German Town about seven miles from the Pennsylvanian capital.

The autumn and winter tested both parties. By many ingenious contrivances, Doctor Franklin and others had rendered the Delaware inaccessible to the British squadron. Three rows of chevaux-de-frize, composed of large beams bolted together, and bristled all over with iron spikes, being sunk across the channel, were protected by forts, wooden piers, and a flotilla of galleys, and several floating batteries. The main American army was at Skippack-Creek on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill: when to the astonishment of their enemy, it all at once rushed upon German-Town. A thick fog at first favoured this energetic assault. The picquets were driven in, and the fortieth regiment was actually retreating with loss, when Colonel Musgrave, having kept five companies in order, threw them into a strong stone-house, which he bravely maintained against four pieces of cannon, until the rest of the English could be rallied. They soon returned to the spot, for very shame, and beat back their assailants, after some fearful fighting. The provincials from henceforth culminated fast as to their military character: and Congress voted thanks to their commander-in-chief and his indefatigable army, although here as well as elsewhere, unsuccessful. Washington had received a reinforcement of 4000 men from the north, and encamped himself within strong lines at Whitemarsh, which Howe reconnoitred, but declined attacking. After six weeks of incessant labour and loss, the latter had opened the navigation of the Delaware, fished up the sunken frames, and thus secured his head quarters at Philadelphia. It proved however little less than a Capua to the invaders. According to the confirmed statement of an officer, himself an eye-witness of what he relates, the citizens

had reason to curse their guests, and those guests to curse the city. Indolence, luxury, and dissoluteness reigned paramount. The members of a religious sect, remarkable for morality and decorum, recoiled with disgust from profligates dallying with their mistresses, or swearing over the faro-table. Houses were frequently metamorphosed into barracks, without compensation to the owners: and while riot ruled through their once tranquil streets, a comparison could not fail to be drawn between the insolence of royalism, and the decent simplicity of a republic.

How widely different were the circumstances of their countrymen in arms. Washington had withdrawn from Whitemarsh, and taken post at Valley Forge, about twenty-six miles from Philadelphia; and so situated, as to cut off that large and fertile district, which would otherwise have been left open for the British to forage in at pleasure. The value of his sacrifice in adhering to this plan, instead of enjoying comfortable accommodation at Lancaster, York, and Carlisle, could only be known by its results. It was such magnanimity that saved America. With immense difficulty he raised wooden huts, covered with earth and straw, miserable shelters as they proved against the inclemency of a Pennsylvanian winter. His ascendancy over the soldiers had no parallel. They were often unable to stir through want of provisions: and as it is hard to make an empty bag stand upright, the murmurs of mutiny would every now and then burst forth in the camp. Washington on one of these occasions summoned before him the single purchasing commissary he had, and received from him the melancholy truth, that he had not an animal of any sort to slaughter, nor more than twenty-five barrels of flour! Soap, salt, vinegar, and other similar necessities had never been seen since the battle of Brandywine. 'Indeed,' as the general facetiously observed, 'the first article was no longer requisite, since few possessed more than one shirt; many only the moiety of one; and some none at all.' Out of 8200 men reported as fit for duty, one fourth were disabled by five days' bad weather, from being barefooted, and as usual without blankets. As winter advanced the numbers in hospital doubled. For more than a week, the whole army was once without fresh or salt meat at all. They worked at the trenches, or otherwise, to keep themselves warm until they fainted; and then there were no medicines for the sick, any more than food for the healthy. Nothing but the entire ignorance, in which the enemy was kept, can account for that delay of hostile measures, by which the continentals, as they were now called, were saved from utter destruction. Tidings, at length, cheered them from the north, where Burgoyne had surrendered to General Gates, who had consulted Washington, and adopted his views, as to the outline of those measures, which led to the convention at Saratoga. The latter, indeed, with customary disinterestedness

had still further cramped his own operations to secure the success of another; although Gates, a very inferior man to himself, was afterwards mean enough to permit the mention of his name and services in rivalry with those of the commander-in-chief. General Conway and others went so far as to become parties to a conspiracy, which had for its object a substitution of Gates for Washington. Slander and insinuation did their worst, and completely failed. The real deliverer of his country, simply remarked in his address to Congress, 'My domestic enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know I cannot combat their charges however insidious and injurious, without disclosing secrets it is of the utmost moment to conceal.' They had reported his design of resignation; to which he replied, 'A report of this kind is among the arts by which those, who are endeavouring to effect a change, are practising to bring it about. I have said and still do say, that there is not an officer in the service of the United States, that would return to the sweets of domestic life, with more heartfelt joy than I should. But while the public are satisfied with my endeavours, I mean not to shrink from the cause: the moment her voice and not that of faction, calls upon me to resign, I shall do it with as much pleasure as ever the weary traveller retired to rest.' Public indignation roused itself at so simple and single-minded an appeal. Even the troops victorious at Saratoga denounced all detraction from the merits of the foremost among American heroes. Conway was compelled to throw up his commission; and having fought a duel with General Cadwallar, in which he imagined himself mortally wounded, he addressed the following letter to Washington: 'I find myself just able to hold pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity to express my sincere grief for having done, written, or said any thing disagreeable to your Excellency. My career will soon be over; therefore, justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of those states whose liberties you have assisted by your virtues.'

Grand changes were meanwhile occurring in European politics. Britain, pierced to the heart with mortification at the misfortunes and disgrace of the Canadian expedition, began to respond to Lord Chatham and Mr. Burke, and clamour for vengeance against their imbecile governors. The Ministry, in February 1788, alarmed for their situations, came down to Parliament with two bills, conceding every point in dispute, exposing their own infamy to the whole world, and calling upon both houses to pass these measures with all possible speed, for that France was about to enter the field. That she would do so, at the first suitable opportunity, had been all along foreseen and predicted by the opposition. A race was now run, between the commissioners for conciliatory measures,

and tidings of the treaties entered into between the cabinet of Versailles and the United States. Philadelphia was, also, in consequence to be evacuated; since it lay 100 miles inland, and there was no saying where the French might strike their first blow; whether in the West Indies, or on the continent. Sir William Howe had requested leave to return home, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton, who together with his appointment received orders to withdraw from the Delaware. While the conciliatory commissioners, from the hour of their arrival, formed a laughing-stock for those to whom they were sent, Washington hung upon the rear and flanks of the retreating army, encumbered as it was with loyalists and baggage, working and fighting their painful way, through New Jersey to New York, by the road of Sandy Hook. On the 28th of June, 1778, in opposition to his council of war, he endeavoured to cut them up at the Freehold Court House, in the county of Monmouth, and would have probably succeeded, had General Lee no longer a British prisoner, obeyed his orders: but that officer, for some reason, thought proper not to do so, and was placed under arrest, when the action terminated. The loss appears to have been equal on both sides, with a clear victory upon neither. Yet to have engaged a regular force upon equal terms, without experiencing a defeat, sufficiently exhilarated the continentals, with whom Washington now marched away to North River. Clinton reached New York on the 5th of July. In the same month Count D'Estaing, came off the Capes of the Delaware, with twelve ships of the line, and six frigates, bearing on board a respectable military force. An expedition against Rhode Island was frustrated by the weather. D'Estaing, on working out of Newport Harbour to fight Lord Howe was driven into Boston to refit. Once again, therefore, the Americans, under General Sullivan, had to retreat; and that officer, considering himself abandoned by his foreign allies, remonstrated so warmly, that nothing short of the influence, discretion, and mildness of Washington, could have restored harmony. About the same time, Congress had again turned their longing gaze upon Canada; and it required all his foresight and firmness to avert certain mischief, by dispersing the hallucination. Spain had now engaged with France in the war against Great Britain; although nothing during the summer of 1779 was done at all worthy of these mighty allies. The commander-in-chief huddled his army on the approach of winter; dividing it between West Point on the Hudson, and Morristown in New Jersey, at which latter place were his head-quarters.

As yet the issue was far from being decided. The spirit of England rose as her enemies multiplied. Her rulers assured the nation, with some appearance of justice, that whatever might at first have been the case, it was now manifest, that they must

contend not for party-purposes, but for the dominion of the seas, and the maintenance of their European character. The oligarchy, which had brought on the crisis, contrived to merge their own obliquities amidst the general alarm. Hence, fresh loans, fleets, and armies, were forthcoming at the call of Lord North and his colleagues. Meanwhile, Holland and the Baltic powers buckled on their harness to harass their maritime rivals, and assert the doctrines to be laid down in the ensuing year, by the Armed Neutrality;—that free bottoms make free goods. Washington had, indeed, already derived nine-tenths of his means from foreign sources. Had the courts of St. Petersburg and the Hague confined themselves to the assertion of abstract rights, and kept to the spirit as well as letter of their treaties with England, America must have been starved into submission. Her great leader thus addressed his friend General Schuyler at the close of 1779: ‘Since the date of my last, we have had the virtue and patience of the army put to the severest trial; sometimes, it has been five or six days without bread, at other times, as many days without meat, and once or twice, *two or three days without either*. At one time, the soldiers ate every kind of horse-food but hay; buck-wheat, common-wheat, rye, and Indian corn composed the meal, which made their bread. As an army they bore it with the most heroic patience; yet sufferings, like these, will produce frequent desertion in all armies; and so it happens with us, though it has not here excited a single mutiny.’ But all seemed going wrong in the southern provinces. Yates and Lincoln had been defeated. Charleston and South Carolina fell into the hands of their invaders in the following year. General Gates was doomed to the bitter mortification of seeing his laurels of Saratoga blighted by his disasters at Camden; and to crown all, the treachery of Arnold had nearly transferred the key of the Highlands on the Hudson to Sir Henry Clinton. There is no space left us, nor is it now necessary, to descant upon the misfortunes of André. The conduct of Washington in the affair turned altogether upon a resolution to assert the independence of his country; by demonstrating, that he would treat a spy just as the proudest sovereign in Europe must have done, without regard to the mere feelings of an enemy, or the amiable character and personal accomplishments of the delinquent.

It was as the year 1780 wore away, that American prospects began slowly and permanently to brighten. A second French armament had arrived on the coast, with 6000 troops under Count de Rochambeau. It brought over a commission, moreover, for the continental commander-in-chief, appointing him a lieutenant-general of France, which, of course, placed the count under his orders. His warm friend and adherent, General Green, had also superseded Gates, and early in 1781, restored the fortunes of the

republic in the Carolinas, by the memorable defeat of Colonel Tarlton at the Cowpens. In February of the same year, the articles of confederation were agreed upon, which gave the government of the United States something like a palpable form: and, although, their financial embarrassments had become so intolerable, that every issue of paper only augmented the mischief, the Marquis de la Fayette, had, at length, induced his cabinet at Versailles to advance 6,000,000 of livres, partly in stores and arms, and the remainder in solid coin. Tarlton's ruin deprived Cornwallis of his staff and stay. In vain followed the brilliant passage of the Catawba by the British, the sanguinary yet useless successes at Guildford and Hobkirks'-Hill, or the losses of the Americans by sea and land. Lord Rawdon in vain relieved an important fortress called Ninety-Six, in the Cherokee country, before he returned to England; in vain the distresses of the continentals continued through want of pay, accoutrements, and an efficient commissariat, insomuch that Washington declared in writing on the 10th of May, 1781, that he did not believe 'from the posts of Saratoga to Dobb's Ferry inclusive, there was on hand one day's supply of meat for his troops;'—there were better things in store. An attack upon New-York was planned; and only abandoned for a more important object. Lord Cornwallis had concentrated his power at York and Gloucester in Virginia, on the two banks of the river York falling into the Chesapeake. The Americans and French, having joined each other at the White Plains, amused Sir Henry Clinton, as though New-York were still to be the point of attack, and then suddenly marched across the Jerseys to Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 30th of August. That very day the Count de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake, with an immense squadron; and measures were immediately taken for blocking up York River. It was now too manifest that Cornwallis would have no way of escape. Clinton, to divert Washington from his able plan of operations, despatched the traitor Arnold to destroy New London; a service which he executed, like a fiend. But neither massacre nor conflagration could now avail. The Marquis de St. Simon, with 3000 men, sailed up James River and met De la Fayette; while the continental commander-in-chief went on board the 'Ville de Paris' to arrange matters with de Grasse. The British were thus hemmed in upon a long narrow peninsula, surrounded indeed with the strongest fortifications, but evidently taken in their own snare. On the 28th of September, the allied forces advanced towards them, driving in their skirmishers. The main body menaced York, while 2000 passed over to the opposite side, to watch and blockade Gloucester. On the night of the 6th of October, ground was broken within 600 yards of the English lines; guns were mounted on the 9th and 10th; on the 11th and

12th, the shells and red-hot balls of the beseigers reached the British shipping in the river, and set on fire a large frigate, with several transports; two advanced redoubts were stormed, and a sortie repulsed on the 14th and 15th; an effort to cross the water and retreat by Gloucester was frustrated by a storm on the 16th; and before the evening of the 18th of October, 1781, Lord Cornwallis surrendered. This brilliant affair in effect closed the war, so far as regarded General Washington and America. New-York, Charleston, and Savannah, with some dependent ports, were all that now remained to Great Britain. Her noblest army, in the completeness of its equipment, and under one of her best generals, had been captured entire. People and parliament at home began to open their eyes. In March, 1782, the cabinet of Lord North was exchanged for that under the Marquis of Rockingham; and after an intricate negotiation, preliminary articles of peace were signed on the 30th of November, 1782.

The losses on both sides, during the whole struggle, have been summed up as follows. Great Britain expended in money, £115,654,914; and the augmentation of her national debt amounted to upwards of £4,500,000 per annum as a permanent additional burden. The numbers slain in her service, according to the returns at New-York, amounted to 43,633. America is said to have lost by the sword and natural deaths in the army and navy, from January 1775 to the peace in 1783, not less than 100,000 men. Her foreign debt incurred by the war, amounted to 7,885,085 dollars, and her domestic debt to 34,115,290 dollars; equal to £9,450,084 sterling, taking the dollar at four shillings and six-pence. But she gained her liberty, and a rank among the nations of the earth. Great Britain lost her colonies, and retained her aristocracy; without as yet learning the inestimable lesson of appreciating it at its real value. The dull and silent nominees of that aristocracy still kept their seats among the Commons, as the ostensible representatives of decayed towns, 'whose streets could only be traced by the colour of the corn, and 'whose sole manufacture was in members of parliament.' If their votes at all receded, they did so like the ass in Homer, amidst the kicks and cuffs, the staves and stones of a multitude one degree more accessible than themselves to the results of dear-bought experience. It is curious to observe the gradually decreasing majorities, which supported Lord North's administration, throughout the eight melancholy years, crowded with the calamities of the American war. Nor can it be denied by any candid mind, that throughout this struggle, General Washington was all in all to his country. Without him, so far as fallible man can perceive, Great Britain would have prevailed; and thereby have retarded the progress of civilization, perhaps for more than a century. The United States have produced no single individual

since the pacification of Paris, who could have performed the part of Washington in the stupendous drama. Nor when war was hushed, and victory achieved, were his merits less conspicuous, as to the unaffected dignity, with which he resigned his commission, and withdrew to Mount Vernon. It was well for Congress, that he continued to be the idol of his army; for nought beside prevented that army from running riot, through the whole harvest of freedom and renown which had been obtained. The subdivision of culpability amongst a number, will sometimes permit that number to act upon principles deprecated by every one composing it, in his mere personal capacity. Hence base attempts were made by the house of national representatives, to keep back 'the hire of those who had reaped down their fields' in the day of danger: and these, on the other hand, most justly exasperated, would have set up some godly commonwealth upon a military basis, had an Oliver Cromwell, instead of the modern Cincinnatus been their leader. It was with the greatest difficulty, that such fermentations and animosities were allayed. The halcyon that calmed them was the influence of Washington; and under providence, it was that alone. Now appeared his celebrated circular addressed to the thirteen states constituting the union. It is by far the most able production of his pen. It presses four essential elements of national prosperity upon the attention of his correspondents; namely, an indissoluble combination under one federal head; a sacred regard to public justice; the adoption of a proper peace establishment; and an oblivion of all local prejudices. These, to use his own glowing language, he considered 'the pillars, on which the glorious fabric of independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the superstructure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration, and the severest punishment, which can be inflicted by his injured country.'

In retirement, he divided his time between agriculture and the maintenance of an extensive correspondence. His delight, at being released from the splendid cares and responsibilities of power, was frequently expressed with exquisite beauty, to his distant friends. He often remarked, 'he would move gently down the stream of life until he slept with his fathers.' Not that he had become, in the smallest degree, indifferent to the welfare of his country. Nothing more demonstrated his real foresight and penetration, as a patriotic statesman, than the encouragement he gave to the improvement of inland navigation. He made extensive tours through the union to collect and diffuse correct ideas upon this subject. He developed a scheme to Governor Harrison of Virginia for securing the trade of the west to their own state, as well as that of Maryland, by embankments along the

the rivers James and Potomac. Writing to another influential friend, he observes, 'extend the inland navigation of the eastern waters, communicate them as near as possible with those which run westward, open these to the Ohio, open all such as extend from the Ohio towards Lake Erie, and we shall not only draw the produce of the western settlers, but the peltry and fur trades of the lakes also to our ports, thus adding an immense increase to our exports, and binding those people to us by a chain, which never can be broken.'

Every suggestion of this sort only tended to convince his friends, that his services must ere long be demanded in a civic capacity, to foster the infancy of the young republic. In distinct contradiction to his own wishes, he was elected a member of the convention, at Philadelphia, in 1787. His views as to what ought to be done, had been expressed to Mr. Jay the year before, when he said, 'Experience has taught us that men will not adopt, and carry into effect executive measures, the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of coercive power. I do not conceive that we can exist long, as a nation, without lodging somewhere a power, which will pervade the whole union, in as energetic a manner, as the authority of the state government extends over the several states.' Disturbances of a serious nature in Massachusetts seemed to convince almost all reflecting persons that such opinions were correct. Washington, therefore, found less difficulty than had been anticipated in revising the articles of confederation, and presenting to America that constitution, which exists with slight modifications at the present moment. He was unanimously elected president, 6th of April, 1787, and set out for New-York; arriving there in triumph on the 28th instant. Addresses of enthusiastic congratulation awaited him from the Senate and House of Representatives: and never since that time was encouragement better deserved, or more necessary. The nation was destitute alike of funds, revenue, and public credit. The novelty of the federal form of government occasioned considerable difficulty in its primary operations. Party spirit, moreover, ran high throughout the union. Rhode Island and North Carolina had not as yet acceded to the constitution: although, they did so afterwards. The most disinterested administration would be sure of having to encounter immense unpopularity. Hence, the prospect was dreary enough: yet although Washington well foreboded what lay before him, he was not the man either to run away, or despair. The first session of Congress continued until the close of September, during which period, 'the new political machine was pushed into motion, and worked with as little friction, as could be expected.' In October, the president made a tour through the eastern states. His appointments to offices gave general satisfaction. The country rose rapidly in prosperity.

Such had been the state of the currency a few years before, that the value of one silver dollar was equal to that of *forty paper ones*. From this almost incredible abyss of difficulty, Washington's first cabinet, consisting of Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, and Randolph, had to elevate America; and they succeeded. They organised a system of revenue, and established such a judicature as proved generally acceptable. The public recognition by the president in his message of the 8th of January, 1790, that 'knowledge 'is in every country the surest basis of universal happiness,' worked wonders. Severe illness compelled him during the summer to withdraw to Mount Vernon; but before autumn terminated, he had recovered, and was again at his post. The legislature had adjourned to Philadelphia; and one of the most momentous matters now brought forward, was the establishment of a national bank. Public feeling was strongly divided. Messrs. Jefferson and Randolph conceived it an unconstitutional measure; whilst their colleagues advocated the opposite opinion. Washington sided with the latter; and from his ratification of the bank charter, originated the form and language adopted by the two parties, describing themselves as democrats and federalists. The spirit of jealousy and collision between the local sovereignties and federal union broke out most vehemently among the southern states. Yet so complete was the restoration of public credit, that the subscriptions to the bank were filled up within two hours from the books for that purpose being opened: besides 4000 more shares being applied for, than the institution allowed.

Washington, however, found the greatest obstacles to keeping his cabinet together. The French revolution had agitated the whole civilised world; whilst America could not help feeling a kind of parental regard towards that new order of things, which seemed to derive its origin and principles, more or less, from her own example. The democrats, as a party, therefore, soon outnumbered their opponents. The constitution of the senate had become obnoxious. There appeared some features in it approximating to the aristocratic character of those European abuses, which the sentence of millions had devoted to deserved destruction. Amidst the throes of such a political earthquake, the first presidential term of four years expired. Washington's declared resolution to retire for ever from the strife was once more overruled. The critical state of affairs rendered it a point of honour, that he should continue to sacrifice his personal ease to his patriotism: and he, therefore, undertook the duties of the executive a second time; awarded to him as they were by unanimous suffrage. 'At the commencement of April, 1793, while transacting some important business at Mount Vernon, intelligence was brought him 'of the declaration of war between Great Britain and France:' upon which, hastening to the seat of government, he called his

councillors together, and resolved after deep deliberation upon the maintenance of a perfect neutrality. M. Genet had arrived at Charleston on the 8th of April, as the minister of republican France, and had authorised several privateers to cruise against the English flag. The president had his moderation and moral courage put to tremendous trial through the intemperance of the French envoy. M. Genet evidently meditated an appeal to the people of the United States against their government. Clubs were formed on the most approved Jacobin model, and by a web-work of correspondence and affiliations, quivered with every agitation of the public mind, from New England to Georgia. They instigated and supported the press in demanding an abolition of the neutrality, to be succeeded by an alliance with the *soi-disant* 'friends of mankind' at Paris. Grand dinners, toasts, speeches, and illuminations supplied inexhaustible fuel for the fire; and even Washington himself, stern republican as he was, fell under no little suspicion of having apostatised from the cause of liberty. His remarks on this painful period are thus recorded: 'For the result as regards myself, I care not. I have a consolation within of which no earthly effort can deprive me; and that is, that neither ambition nor interested motives have influenced my conduct. The arrows of malevolence however barbed and pointed, can never reach my most valuable part; although, whilst I am up as a mark, they will be continually pointed at me.' The conduct of Genet, at last, grew so outrageous, that had not intelligence reached Philadelphia of his recall, he would have been taken into custody. Washington, meanwhile, maintained his point with an even hand. Towards the close of 1793, Lord Grenville had directed all vessels to be seized, carrying provisions to any colony of France; and to be brought into British ports. The President instantly remonstrated on the part of America; and while remonstrating, passed a bill through congress for making warlike preparations, besides laying down several frigates as the commencement of a navy. Lord Grenville then yielded the point, and expressed his wishes for a settled peace with the United States; as he had good reason to do. Upon this, Washington dispatched John Jay, as envoy extraordinary, to London for the negociation of a commercial treaty between the two countries. It was concluded on the fairest terms at that time possible to be obtained; yet no greater clamour could have been excited, had the fruits of the late war been actually bartered away. Faction raged and stormed. The character of the Executive was overwhelmed with opprobrium. Wretches emerged from holes and corners, who dared to charge it with embezzlement as to public accounts, and with violating the constitution as to the treaty. The more fiery zealots even threatened an impeachment: yet nothing could move the magnanimity of Washington. He observed to a friend,

‘There is but one straight course; and that is to seek truth and pursue it steadily.’ To the criminal charges, no violence on the part of those who supported them, could ever induce him to vouchsafe a reply. But the secretary of the treasury came forward, and proved by detailed accounts, that the President had never touched the smallest fraction even of the salary annexed to his own office: whilst the general funds of the public had been administered under his auspices with the most exact frugality. The calumny thus being at once exploded, every honest sympathy awoke to do justice to its venerable victim. It was in the same year he was called upon to suppress the Pennsylvanian insurrection, which had arisen through the imposition of spirit-duties; and so to the very end of his administration, he kept on in the even tenor of his way, illustrating the eloquence of one of his greatest admirers, the late Robert Hall, who observes, that ‘distinguished merit will ever rise superior to oppression, and will draw lustre from reproach. The vapours, which gather round the rising sun, and follow him in his course, seldom fail at the close of it to form a magnificent theatre for his reception, and to invest with variegated tints, and with a softened effulgence, the luminary which they cannot hide.’

Having published an invaluable valedictory address, he was succeeded by Mr. Adams; and not long after his final retirement to Mount Vernon, enjoyed the pleasure of seeing justice done to his views of foreign policy by the whole American people. Threatenings of hostility with France were nearly calling him once more into active life; and he was appointed a second time lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the United States’ forces, in 1799, the very year in which he died. This event took place at half-past eleven o’clock on Saturday evening, the 13th of December, through a severe cold, terminating in inflammation of the windpipe. A few hours before his decease, he informed his attendants ‘that his affairs were in good order; that he had made his will; and that his public business was but two days in arrear.’ Fourteen ounces of blood were taken from his arm in vain. Extreme difficulty of articulation soon prevented him from saying much; but turning to his physician, he gently observed, ‘Doctor, I am dying, and have been dying for a long time; but I am not afraid to die!’ The mere illness had lasted scarcely more than twenty-four hours; yet he had been for years in the habit of preparing for his latter end, so that he closed his eyes amidst the tears and prayers of all present, with ‘a peace which passeth understanding.’

His character has been considered most difficult to delineate; since it may truly be described as a harmony of virtues, incomparable when taken altogether, but without those prominent features, which absorb superficial attention. It was like light in its matchless beauty—its unclouded clearness—its pervading in-

fluences—the unity of its seven-fold colours—and its being at once the sublime of simplicity—and the simplicity of the sublime. He was not what would be termed an intellectual man; yet his faculties were quite sufficient to furnish ‘the palace of the mind,’ for his own enjoyment, and the instruction of the wisest amongst his contemporaries. His mental operations are said to have been slow; and to have resembled ‘an optical instrument, not easy of adjustment, but which when regulated by care, brings into view ‘the most minute and distant objects.’ He was not a literary man; yet he knew the value of letters, and was ever disposed to patronise them. His estimation however of these, as well as of all other things, had its source in an innate greatness of soul. Wisdom was enthroned there, with judgment, integrity, patience, and perseverance, at her right hand. His talents as a statesman were of the noblest order, whether his piercing penetration into motives, his comprehensiveness of view, his calculation of probabilities, his improvement of favourable opportunities, his imperturbable calmness and composure, or his general administration of affairs be considered: and to these must be added the grandeur of his moral elevation, and the wonders of his single-mindedness. For himself or his family he wanted nothing and took nothing; but for his country he wished and obtained every thing. Yet his patriotism, though enthusiastic, was never fanatical; nor his disinterestedness affected. In one word, he was all order—all proportion—all completeness: so much so, that the scale, on which he was formed, could scarcely be conceived, without a long study and analysis of its several particulars, when the largeness and beauty of each most strikingly appeared. It was this golden mean of excellencies,—this strength of well-compacted superstructure, which enabled him to outshine and outlive so many storms, which either in their individual violence, or continued succession, would have annihilated any other person. He has been compared with Oliver Cromwell and Napoleon Buonaparte; but greatly to his own advantage. They were Titans of selfishness,—malignant though mighty stars, revolving alone upon their own immoveable centres. Washington, on the contrary, while he warmed and illuminated his own system, carried it forward with himself through a vast orbit of universal philanthropy and benevolence. As a soldier, he may rank among the foremost; recollecting his early circumstances, his perpetual disadvantages, and the success which at last crowned his efforts. True however it is, although paradoxical, that his laurels had their root in defeat and disappointment; that is to say, in the ever-enduring perseverance, which supported him through years of disasters; and enabled him to rear an imperishable monument, from that which would have overwhelmed the mere military hero, in obscurity and ruin. Is it too much to affirm, that his modesty, as well as his patriotism, knew scarcely a parallel?

Art. II. *Essays and Correspondence chiefly on Scriptural Subjects.*

By the late JOHN WALKER, sometime a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; a Clergyman of the Established Church. Collected and prepared for the press, by WILLIAM BARTON. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Longman & Co.

ALTHOUGH many of our readers who may never have heard of the sect of Sandemanians, and others who have heard but a little of them, may both be inclined to ask whether it were not quite as well to leave them to enjoy undisturbed repose in the tomb of all the Capulets as to bring them thus before the public; yet we are disposed to think that considerable interest attaches to their history, and we feel confident that their *reliquiæ* are well worth preservation, both as theological curiosities, and as *beacons* to the churches and the pastors of the present age. Church History, as well as Natural History, may have its museums for the conservation of moral petrifications and specimens of extinct races.

The lessons which may be derived from the withering influence of Sandemanian speculation, seem to derive special weight and importance at the present time, from the rise of a sect within the last few years, who are endeavouring to combine a considerable part of the Sandemanian theory with the extravagancies of the Millenarian and prophetic school. This latter admixture gives an air of novelty and life to the cold and repulsive theology of the Sandemanians, and seems to be likely to bring at least its ecclesiastical system into some degree of renewed life. The new sect of '*brethren*' who have appeared principally, though not exclusively, in the West, and who are ramifying in other directions, seem to symbolize in their views of the church pretty closely with the extinct, or nearly extinct societies of the Sandemanians. They do so in their restriction of prayer and praise, in their scornful and condemnatory aspect to all other Christian societies, in their discountenance of Missionary exertions, their degradation of the pastoral office, and punctiliousness in the reception of contributions, and in their general views of divine influence and the use of means; as if a belief in the former required us to abjure the latter; or the use of the latter dishonoured or annulled the former. We do not, however, design in this article further to point out the new combination in which the views of the Sandemanians have been revived. And we can scarcely venture to predict or guess how the few remaining '*disciples*' may regard the amalgamation of many of their favourite doctrines with the remnants of Irvingism; but we suspect that Mr. Walker would have been horror-struck at the crudities of the new school upon the subject of prophecy; equally so at the junction of Arminians and Calvinists; and supremely so at their scheme of

comprehension—for he appears to have gloried in the fewness of his party, and gloated upon the idea of the *little flock*. The subject of our present article was in many respects the most distinguished man, both as a preacher and a writer, among the remarkable sect of which for many years he was the head. In despite of the ungracious, contemptuous, and almost savage scorn with which he writes of all who were opposed to his views, and which he appears to have cherished in the inverse proportion to their distance from his opinions, there is yet a fascinating attraction in the truth of some of his first principles, in the masculine energy of his diction, the transparent clearness of his reasoning and the metaphysical acuteness of his thinking, not easily to be resisted, and exceedingly apt to impose upon the understandings of those whom we may term pure and unimpassioned *scripturists*. He was a classical scholar and mathematician of the very highest order, a critic of microscopic vision, and a polemic of consummate art and Samsonic strength. We are disposed to think that the wide field of theological warfare has rarely, if ever, presented so skilful, so accomplished, and so thorough a champion in every respect. He wanted only a good cause to make him as a writer absolutely triumphant. There can be no doubt, however, that he was perfectly sincere and conscientious in the extravagances to which he devoted his extraordinary powers and vast attainments; though they have evaporated in as little service to the cause of philosophical theology as the refinements of the nominalists and realists in the Middle Ages. It is not, however, easy to explain how it was that with such talents, with such professed subjection to the exclusive authority of the Bible, and with that Bible always open before him, he should so egregiously have missed its scope, misrepresented its instructions, and subverted its entire object, as it is manifest he did, in the spirit, which he contrived to extract from it by his metaphysical and critical process of distillation. If the idea of a thinking machine, void of all grace of passion and magic touch of eloquence, or of a theological automaton, could ever be realized, John Walker would assuredly furnish the model. His very *effigies*, done in a lithographed portrait, and affixed to these volumes, is enough to petrify every beholder; it is a human *Lithos*—a perfect index and appropriate frontispiece to his Works. For they are cold and hard as marble. The stern, unfeeling, dogmatic productions of a mind that had as little sympathy with the nature to which he belonged, as with the system he undertook to explain. We have no wish to malign the man, for we never knew him, nor ever came in contact with him, except through the medium of his writings; but we do wish it to be discerned and observed generally, how unamiable, how profitless, and even how perilous, are the loftiest gifts of intellect without the music of passion and the feelings of humanity. Mr.

John Walker was evidently a man without a heart, or it was frozen to an icicle in the frigid zone of his theology. The grand vice of all his controversial writings may be described by a correlate expression which our readers will forgive us for employing—he laboured to disembowel the gospel of all its tenderness, and to cauterize the feelings of his followers by the nitrate of his infallible interpretations. Theology in his hands became a mere arena of dry metaphysics, in which the conflict was for the forms of truth, and not for its spirit; for the accuracy of an intellectual perception, rather than for the transforming virtue which guarantees the divinity of the truth, and gives it all its worth, at least to our guilty and suffering nature. Mr. Walker had established in his own mind an intellectual standard of faith, divesting it of every attribute and quality, save bare cold assent, or rather perception of the truth, in which, he even affirmed that the mind did not act at all. This was his theological crucible, before which he sat like a refiner and purifier of silver, authoritatively denouncing and condemning, or even consuming with the fire of his wrath, whatever doctrines or principles did not accord with his test. In his attempts to analyse the pure essence of faith, and reduce it to its primitive element, the spirit of it eluded his test, and the thing itself appeared to contain nothing more than the *residuum* which his analytical crucible presented, when the process was completed: thus saving faith was reduced to a mere intellectual reception of the truth and nothing more—and as to emotion or holy feeling, or approbation, or obedience, it was all delusion and nonsense—faith he decided to mean assent or credence, and nothing more nor less. He resembled those physiologists who with persevering and penetrating skill examine the fibres of every muscle, and divide every thread of every nerve, to find the *vis vitæ*, and resolve at last that there is nothing of the sort in nature, because their knives and microscopes cannot detect it; organization and chemistry must include all. The analysis can go no further, and their philosophy is impatient of mysteries and incredulous of secrets. Every candid and sober-minded philosopher, however, still believes that there is something in animal life which no anatomy however minute can detect, and which no animal chemistry however perfect can explain. And every sound theologian will, we suspect, in like manner repudiate the Sandemanian divinity as unphilosophical, though pretending to superior simplicity and accuracy, because it is the religion of the mere intellect and not of the heart, therefore not of human nature, not of Christianity, but of the mere conceptive and perceptive reason. Those semi-inductive philosophers, whom we name materialists, and who are generally remarkable for detesting the doctrine of final causes, and for commencing their inductions in the middle without tracing them either forward or backward

to any definite or satisfactory issue, are not more inconsistent in limiting their reasonings to material causation, than those theologians who simplify the whole business of salvation down to a metaphysical proposition, and reduce that faith which is the gift of God, and which is to command and renovate the whole man, into a cold, unimpassioned credence of a testimony. Such definitions will no more include all that the Scriptures mean by faith, than an anatomical demonstration, or a system of animal chemistry, will include all that is involved in the term *man*. Such generalizations in science seem designed, and certainly are well enough fitted, to *generalize* us out of our belief in a First Cause, and the presence of his inscrutable efficiency through all nature; and such generalizations in theology only nullify the evidence and neutralize the vivifying power of our divine Christianity.

But it is time that we afforded our readers some opportunity of judging for themselves of the principles and spirit of the extraordinary man whose works are before us. He says:

‘I have lately met, and looked at, some passages of a piece written by Mr. Andrew Fuller, entitled, ‘*Strictures on Sandemanianism.*’ That gentleman seems to take a lead in the work of perplexing and corrupting the Gospel of Christ; and seems to be well fitted for it, by knowing how to entangle truth with error. One of the most obvious remarks which may strike a simple reader of his production, is this: if the doctrine of Scripture (Gospel) involved such metaphysical subtleties, as his book abounds with, how little fitted would it be for the poor and ignorant *babes*! Ministers, as wise and prudent as Mr. Fuller, might understand it, and might bewilder their plain hearers with statements of it. But indeed their plain hearers could not, in the end, be much the wiser for their instructions.

‘I observe, however, that Mr. Fuller, amidst much put forward to prove his soundness of faith, avows, pretty early in his work, that he means by justifying faith, *an act of the mind*. Now, I say that the reader, whose senses are exercised to distinguish good and evil, may safely close Mr. Fuller’s book at that point, and conclude that the writer is contending for a sentiment directly opposed to the Apostolic doctrine.

‘Nothing can be more plainly taught by the Apostle than this: that *to him that WORKETH the reward is not reckoned of GRACE, but of debt; and THEREFORE it is of FAITH that it might be by GRACE.* Rom. iv. 4 and 16. Now, if faith be an *act* of the mind, or a *work*, (for I suppose Mr. Fuller can scarcely distinguish between an *act* and a *work*,) then the contrast, which the Apostle states between him that *worketh* and him that *believeth*, must be given up; and the justification, which is assured to him that *believeth*, or doeth this *mental work*, can be no longer reckoned of GRACE. For as to any doctrine that would blind and confound the two, the Apostle tells us again (Rom. xi. 6,) if by grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace; but if it be of works, then is it no more grace; otherwise work is no more work.

‘The same Apostle teaches us, that the righteousness *which is of the law* speaketh on this wise,—*the man which doeth these things shall live by them*, (Rom. x. 5,) and contrasts with that *the righteousness which is of faith*. But if we are to believe Mr. Fuller, that faith is an *act* or *work*, then there is no essential contrast between the two. For, when it is said—he that believeth shall be saved, we must understand him that doeth this mental work.

‘Mr. Fuller has very respectable company in thinking, that the great difference between the law and the Gospel lies in the difference of the work, which the sinner must *do* that he may live: and it is no wonder, while he is of this mind, that he views the opposite doctrine with abhorrence, as subversive of love and all good works. The unadulterated Gospel ever has been viewed so by those, who were not convinced of its truth. And those who are convinced of its truth will scarcely contend, that their being convinced of it (or *believing* it) was a mental *act*, which their minds performed.

‘Mr. Fuller refers to a former pamphlet of his, entitled, ‘*The Great Question Answered*;’ written on the reply of Paul and Silas to the question of the Philippian jailer—*What must I do to be saved?* Acts xvi. 30, 31. The attentive reader of that tract might perceive, that the writer of it understood the Apostolic answer, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house*—as telling the inquirer *what he should do to be saved*. But if his meaning were ambiguous before, it is now sufficiently ascertained. One who should treat that subject with juster views, would be apt to entitle his piece—‘*The foolish and ungodly question answered*.’—Vol. I., p. 331, 332.

The perverseness and misrepresentation of this whole extract will scarcely escape any of our readers. The attempt to set Mr. Fuller’s doctrine in opposition to the Apostles, upon the question of works and faith, is either a quibble upon the meaning of an act of the mind, or it resolves itself into a total denial of human agency, and is an absolute reduction of men into mere passive machines, in the business of their salvation; and consequently presents a complete denial of any moral system in human nature to which the Gospel could be adapted. And we suppose this was the real truth of Mr. Walker’s theory. But the latter part of the extract relating to the jailer and the answer of the Apostles, illustrates the daring dogmatism and the gross antinomianism of the writer, in the clearest light. If it was a foolish and ungodly question to *put*, it was scarcely less foolish or less ungodly to *answer* it in the way they did. But his word *do* was met by their word *believe*, without that explanation or reproof which our Author would undoubtedly have given, had his more refined wisdom been appealed to on the occasion. Poor ignorant Apostles! how strange that ye did not see what a gross and pernicious error you were countenancing in the awakened mind of the sinner; and how was it that ye did not start with horror at the word *do*, and explain to him that to *believe* was to do nothing—no act of

his mind at all—though required of him as that without which he might entertain no hope of salvation !

But let us proceed a little further to exhibit to our readers how Gospel truths may be distorted and perverted even under a show of special zeal for their purity and glory. Addressing Mr. Haldane, he says :

‘Indeed I have long considered the situation of a popular evangelical teacher as one not only very awful, but peculiarly pitiable. Every circumstance in it concurs to strengthen in his own mind the delusions of false religion ; and to blind him to the real character of the spirit in which he walks. His very office, with all its engagements and occupations, is of a *religious* description ; that is, of a description which all men naturally regard with veneration, and consider as *good*. He is commonly kept in a regular routine of *devout* exercises of prayers and preaching, and in the centre of a circle, larger or smaller, which is supposed to collect within it whatever is most excellent. His *diction* decides to his people the interpretation of the Word of God. He is looked up to as the oracle of divine wisdom, from which they seek responses. And shall he not be zealous to put down every suggestion, which might intimate that he is *blind* ? Shall he, all whose life is a life of religion, admit the supposition that all this religion may be stark ungodliness ? And this, when he sees it precisely of the same kind with what has been, and is taught and sanctioned by men of names the most eminent in the religious world,—men in a manner canonized by their admiring followers. Every thing contributing to sear his conscience, to puff up his mind, to harden him in the strong delusion in which he lives ; it may truly be said that, ‘it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle,’ than for such a man to enter into the kingdom of God.

‘The person who poisons a spring,—that spring from which man and beast imbibe draughts which they expect to be salubrious,—the person who makes its waters the vehicle of death by the introduction of poison into them—that person even in war is reckoned a monster. *Yet this guilt is but a faint image of yours.* (We put these words in italics that the reader may note them as a specimen of the most ferocious censoriousness which perhaps ever appeared in and disgraced theological controversy. The malignity which could confound the two cases, even supposing the preacher to be as palpably and dangerously wrong as Mr. Walker would affirm, is absolutely enormous. Happily for mistaken and erring mortals they have not to stand at the judgment-seat of any such a Draco, nor to fear any such an indiscriminating judgment. Paul teaches that though the wood, hay, and stubble with which they may build up the church should be destroyed, yet they themselves may be saved, though it may be as by fire.) ‘The Scripture contains the words of *eternal life*: and he who perverts them from their real import, and gives them a currency in a corrupted meaning, attempts to poison the *very waters of life*,—that very word which ‘shows unto men the way of salvation,’ he makes the guide to eternal death. This is the wicked business of your life ; and that you greedily drink

yourself of the same poison which you administer to others, lessens not the wickedness.'

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'Sir, turn not upon your heel in indignation. It is a charge of great wickedness which I have established against you. For what wickedness can be greater than that of not only rejecting the truth of God yourself, but spending your life in adulterating and falsifying the divine word which declares it to others. The same thing which has been shown in the one instance which I selected, it would be easy to show in numberless others,—in all that you have been teaching concerning the nature of faith, of repentance, of sanctification, of the work of the Spirit,—in the deceitful manner in which you have handled every part of the Word of God.

'The same wickedness, by which you spend your life in corrupting the truth of the Gospel, it would be easy to show extends to the invasion of all its peculiar *precepts*; to show that you systematically labour to make them all void by your tradition; to show indeed that every so called minister or pastor of a popular evangelical congregation (whether connected with the Establishment or with the Dissenters,) is—and must be in order to fill his situation—a ringleader in the anti-christian conspiracy against the authority of the King of Zion.'—ib., p. 481.

The assumption in this whole passage, that all evangelical ministers are wilful perverters of the Word of God, is as glaringly unjust as the arrogance which pronounces their condemnation. Supposing their deficiencies and their errors were as gross as this impeachment sets forth, and had been proved by indubitable authority of Scripture, still the smallest grain of Christian charity, or ordinary candor, might have turned the scale of justice against the fulmination of this fierce anathema, and saved them from the crimination of being engaged in an anti-christian conspiracy against the King of Zion. But what right had a fellow-servant, who could show no signs of an infallible judgment in the matter, and whose former subjection to similar errors, and subsequent changes of opinion, might have afforded some proof even to himself of human fallibility, what right had he thus to take his brother by the throat and denounce him as a traitor? This passage affords indeed but a slight specimen of the rancorous, condemnatory spirit which pervaded all Mr. Walker's controversial writings. We have sought in vain for any trace of that charity and forbearance which his brethren had a right to expect from one assuming to have attained a much clearer vision of the mind of the Spirit, and stepping forward to correct the mistakes of the whole professing church. Sometimes indeed he affects to pity those whom he condemns, but it never assumes the aspect or the tone of that charity which 'hopeth all things,' and is utterly counteracted by that Sardonic scorn with which the whole mass of his opponents are delivered over to certain perdition. Again,

in another passage of similar acrimony and assumption, alluding to Mr. Sandeman, he says :

‘ He indulges indeed, more than I have ever done, in mentioning the names of individual writers and preachers who oppose the truth. Let me here give the reader a specimen of what is here reckoned his *worst spirit*. I recollect few passages, which I believe raised a greater outcry than that in which he recommends to the attention of any who desire to know ‘*a devout path to hell*—’ Marshall’s *Mystery of Sanctification*, and Boston’s *Fourfold State*. Now, I am not deeply read in those books ; but I have looked at them sufficiently to concur decisively in Mr. Sandeman’s recommendation ; and I beg leave to add a third very popular work to the catalogue—the Rev. Dr. Doddridge’s *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. Mr. Haldane probably will feel indebted to me for giving such an unequivocal instance of the *bad spirit* of Sandeman and his supposed disciple. He may call together his religious friends, to join him in looking with pious horror at the spirit which stigmatizes the writings of such holy and excellent men, as pointing out *a devout path to hell*. But assume for a moment, Mr. Haldane, a little of that coolness which you attribute to me ; and I will suggest to you a more effectual way for putting down or exposing these odious *Sandemanians*, than by mere gratuitous assertions of their *bad spirit*, their *keenness*, *severity*, and *contempt* of all who differ from them. And for once I beseech you to hear me patiently.

‘ That the paths pointed out in the works above alluded to, is a devout path, no one can deny ; and I am sure you will be ready to admit. It is certain also that they are, or have been, studied by multitudes of devout persons, as pointing out a sure path to heaven ;—without any doubt but that, if they only walk in the path there marked for them, they will go to heaven. Now I am persuaded, from the Scriptures, that any person who does really go on to the end in the path recommended in those writings, will perish in his sins for ever ; or, in plain language, will be cast into hell. And this I am ready (with the help of God) publicly to maintain, by an examination of those popular works, and a comparison of their devout path with the *one* way marked in the Scriptures as leading to eternal life.’

—ib. p. 471.

Our readers will probably be amply convinced that the description we have given of Mr. Walker’s temper and spirit is borne out by his writings. They will also have gained some insight into several peculiarities of his theological system. We shall now proceed, with all due regard to brevity, to lay before them several other dogmas of this pugnacious sect. Before doing so, it is only necessary to premise that they appear to attach equal importance to every one of their doctrinal views, whether relating to faith, justification, sanctification, election, or any thing else ; we might even state that they hold their theory of church government with the same tenacity as their creed of doctrines, and

countenance as little forbearance in matters of discipline and the treatment of weak brethren, as in the fundamentals of truth. The following citation relates to the important subject of sanctification, and will adequately display Mr. Walker's views of that point.

‘ You, Sir, know that it is many years since I have opposed the popular notion of *sanctification*, as a progressive amendment wrought in our hearts,—an improvement into something good of that which was naturally evil. And I must say that those who think they have attained any *such* sanctification as this, cannot consistently or seriously pray, ‘ lead us not into trial.’ They might rather wish for a trial of themselves, to manifest the happy change which has taken place in their own character. But while they are engaged in the pursuit of its attainment, or in the contemplation of its supposed existence, they are vainly puffed up in their fleshly minds ; and (as I have shown in my remarks on the parable of the Pharisee and Publican) they differ nothing from the Pharisee in modestly attributing its production to what they call the grace of God ; the Pharisee also thanking God that he was not as other men.

‘ My views of the perfect sameness of evil character in the hearts of believers and unbelievers,—in their own hearts,—may be farther illustrated and confirmed by a few observations on the Apostle Peter and Judas Iscariot. The latter is commonly considered as an extraordinary monster of wickedness ; and an awful exhibition indeed of human wickedness he afforded. But when his history is viewed in the light of the truth, it will be seen that, ‘ as in water face answereth to face,’ so his heart was but a counterpart of Peter’s—of believing Peter’s—of Peter after he was pronounced by his divine master blessed in the knowledge of that which flesh and blood could not reveal.

‘ I am aware that the views for which I contend, of the utterly evil character of the heart of man, in *all alike*, and at all times, must appear to the mass of religious professors, not only subversive of what *they* call sanctification, but also subversive of their confidence and joy. Those who know of no gospel to a sinful creature *as such*, but hold under the name of gospel something which they speak of in high terms as joyful to those who have somehow thrown off that character, must naturally be shocked at the view, which exhibits believing Peter as *himself* exactly the same utterly wicked creature with Judas Iscariot: for they cannot conceive what peace or confidence in drawing nigh to God *such* a creature can derive from the Gospel.’—*ib.*, pp. 447, 449.

Thus Mr. Walker gets rid altogether of sanctification. There neither is nor can be any such thing, and all who have ever written upon it, or expected to attain to it, in conformity with the Saviour's petition, ‘ Sanctify them through the truth—thy word is truth !’ have been sunk in error and delusion. The defenders of this theory entertain a sort of metaphysical personification of the *new man*—as though that expression denoted as distinct and

separate a mind as the former old and evil one—and then they realize the delusive notion of two *minds* as of two thinking spirits in the regenerated; and in consequence maintain that the old nature, meaning the old mind, is never changed; but a new one is imparted to constitute the regenerated character. But surely if the grace of God is designed to counteract the evil which was introduced by the fall of Adam, then it consists not in producing a literally new creature, but in restoring or renovating the old spirit—by bringing it back to its moral harmony with the will and holiness of the Creator. It appears to us that Mr. Walker's error upon this point tends to the entire subversion of the great design of the Gospel—the triumph of moral excellence through the grace of God given unto us, in the destruction of the works of the devil in us, and the recovery of believers in their own proper persons, mind and hearts, to that very perfection which, in the first of the race, the Creator beheld with complacency. If there is, moreover, any great and leading idea set forth in the Gospel as the end, subsidiary to the glory of God, for which God gave his Son, and Christ gave himself; it was that he might present that church which the Father gave him, without wrinkle or blemish or spot, in their own proper nature restored by his grace to righteousness and happiness, before the throne of his glory with exceeding joy: and nothing can be a more palpable perversion of the revelation of this great design than to represent it as consisting in the literal creation of a *new mind*. This is not only an abuse of the figurative terms of Scripture, but amounts to an absolute nullification of all the evidences of regeneration, the glorious fruits of the Spirit, and signs of a vital union with Christ. It is a reduction of the Christian character to the mere point of credence of the truth—and is literally making that credence the evidence of itself.

We will present another passage or two on this important subject, which will enable all to judge of the extreme issue to which Mr. Walker pushed his notions, under the profession too of more entire subjection to the current language of Scripture than he was ever willing to concede to his opponents.

‘All the disturbances of the sinner's natural conscience,—all his frettings and strugglings against some forms of his iniquities,—proceed upon utter ignorance of the true God, and ignorance of what it is for a creature to have departed from him. If I were to suppose this ignorance removed at present from the mind of any sinner, but without the discovery of the glorious Gospel to his mind, the effect would be nothing *good*, and nothing short of that blackness of despair which reigns where hope never comes. But on the divine testimony of Him who ‘came into this world to save sinners,’ even the chief, by giving his own life a ransom for many, there is a discovery made of the divine glory, such as no man ever thought of or could conceive; such as no

man, clearly as the report of it is given in the Scriptures, will believe, till he is convinced of its truth by the same power which commanded the light to shine out of darkness. When any sinner is convinced of it, the mind of faith, which credits the divine declaration—‘this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,’—is a mind not his own, but opposite to and opposed by every thing that issues from himself: he is ‘born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.’ That mind sees the foundation which God hath laid in Zion, and rests upon it; the way which is opened unto the holiest for sinners, and draws nigh by it;—the salvation which belongeth unto Jehovah, and rejoices in it; the rich provision of his house, and is satisfied with it. He is a new *creation*, which God has wrought; and which in his faithfulness he upholds by the same power. But it is not *any alteration or improvement* in the whole fabric of the sinner’s own heart and nature. He possesses in himself, and in his own heart, but one unmixed and unalterable character of evil, and contrariety to God. His flesh was depicted under the Levitical law by that house infected with the plague of leprosy, (Lev. xiv. 45,) for which there was no cleansing; but the stones of it were to be broken down, and the timber thereof, and all the mortar of the house, and to be carried out of the city to an unclean place.’—ib., p. 443.

To say nothing of the license to continue in sin which such notions furnish, and upon which we might justly enlarge, it is enough to say that they are altogether at variance with the entire scope of the Saviour’s doctrine; and, among numerous other passages of the most argumentative and abstract of the Apostles, with that memorable admonition, ‘be ye transformed by the renewing of your minds, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.’ Rom. xii. 2. It is scarcely necessary that we should dwell upon this point any further; indeed, we fear we have already dwelt too long upon the peculiarities of the Sandemanian theology, and that our readers will be happy to be relieved from any further attention to the subject. We, therefore, hasten to sum up our opinion of these volumes.

We have already intimated that Mr. Walker has placed some fundamental truths in a clear light, and displayed their force in a manner that can scarcely fail of securing the assent of all who are humble and obedient students of the sacred Word. We refer particularly to one article, entitled, ‘The Faith and Hope of the Gospel Vindicated,’ containing strictures on Dr. Chalmers’s address to his parishioners on quitting Kilmany. The great object of the article is to expose the unsoundness of those views which foster the notion in the minds of awakened sinners, that they are in a hopeful condition, and really passing through a sort of transition-state, prior to their actual reception by faith of the righteousness of the Son of God for their justification. Mr. Walker has un-

doubtedly shown, that any treatment of such a class of persons, which induces them to regard mere convictions and awakenings with complacency, and inclines them to rest in their present state of mind, as one of hope, is both injurious to the interest of immortal souls and directly opposed to Apostolic doctrine. We perfectly agree with him in this, that all sinners are to be urged directly and at once to believe in Christ, that no flattering unction is to be laid to the soul till this is its state, and that as soon as this is ascertained, not indeed by the fallacious standard of a logical definition, or a bare consciousness, but by its effects, he is to be encouraged to believe he is justified, and to be strong in the grace which is in Christ Jesus. But though we approve of the general argument maintained against Dr. Chalmers's doctrine of a 'grand renewing process,' and the hopeful efforts of sinners to put themselves into 'a state of preparation for the Saviour,' we must express our abhorrence of the manner in which Mr. Walker has treated Dr. Chalmers himself. Thus he says :

'If even Dr. Chalmers be himself brought to the knowledge of that truth which he now opposes, he will see that he has been hitherto a blind leader of the blind; and that all those supposed earnest desires after the Saviour, which he thinks so hopeful symptoms in himself and others like him, have been but earnest desires after the vain imaginations of their own ungodly minds, and not after the Christ of God.'

'Here we have in a small compass the quintessence of all the anti-christian doctrine, by which the popular teachers have for ages beguiled the religious world. Grand words about the perfection of Christ's righteousness, as the only foundation for a sinner; but something remaining to be done by the sinner *to get at it*. And in this unrighteous labor the *Reverend Doctors of Divinity* are ready at hand, as guides and assistants to the *exercised* souls, whom they can prevail on *'to be up and doing.'*'—ib., p. 349.

The malignant and censorious spirit which marked this, as well as all Mr. Walker's attempts to expose the errors of the evangelical doctrine and the popular preachers, must have contributed to obscure the arguments he employed, and tended to defeat the object at which he aimed. We are not without hope, however, that Dr. Chalmers has modified some of his views of this preparatory process for the reception of the Saviour, and that he has attained to clearer notions of the evangelical scheme than he had when he published his Address to the Inhabitants of Kilmany. We believe that he would not now reiterate sentiments so obviously calculated to lead men to trust in mere human emotions, and rest in something short of a cordial reception by faith of the atonement and righteousness of Christ.

Although we have felt it a duty to speak in terms of condemnation concerning many doctrines defended in these volumes, and of the entire spirit which vitiates the whole of the controversial pieces, yet we are far from wishing either to depreciate Mr. Walker's character as a critic and theologian, or to discountenance the perusal of his works. On the other hand, we think they can scarcely be read by any established Christian or minister without considerable *clarification* of his views of divine truth—if we may be allowed such a term. There is in the second volume a considerable number of critical observations on passages of Scripture distinguished by acuteness and discrimination;—many of them highly valuable, and all interesting. Had the volumes been both filled with such remarks, they would have been a treasure to preachers of the Gospel. Upon the whole, we may be permitted to say, with due caution against the *nostrums* of the Sandemanian school, and the uncharitable spirit of Mr. Walker in particular, that the perusal of a large portion of these volumes would prove of essential service to many in the present day—especially in reference to critical views of Scriptural truth;—but we forewarn every one that he must not expect to find any excitement to his devotional feelings, or any stimulants to practical godliness. The Author treated Scriptural theology just as he treated logic, mathematics, and the classical languages, with admirable skill and great acuteness; but with the cold indifference of the anatomist or the savage ferocity of the gladiator. We can only add, by way of final commendation, that no purchaser of these volumes will have to complain of a deficiency of matter, or of the common sin of book-making. There are materials enough for at least five respectable octavos. Though the type is small, and the reading in one sense heavy and wearisome,—though the discussions are frequently minute, and to some readers may seem to be trivial and microscopic, yet we confess we have been deeply interested in their perusal, and not uninstructed by the closer inspection we have been enabled to make of the Author's peculiar sentiments.

Art. III. *Truths from the West Indies. Including a sketch of Madeira in 1833.* By CAPTAIN STUDHOLME HODGSON, of Her Majesty's 19th Regiment of Foot. London: William Ball. 1838.

THE crisis at which we are arrived in the history of Negro Emancipation calls for devout acknowledgment to the Author of all mercies. Our fathers labored, and we have entered into their labors, but instead of gathering from past success incentives to self-congratulation and indolence, we must feel pledged,—solemnly pledged, to a continuance in well-doing. There is no concealing the fact that our triumph has exceeded our hopes,—let us take heed that we are not thrown off our guard, and rendered criminally neglectful of the measures which our adversaries may adopt. The hour of unexpected triumph is always a season of danger. The mind seeks repose from the excitement to which it has been subjected; and relaxes its efforts at the very moment those efforts are most needed, and when they would prove most productive. This has been the case in past times, and it will be so in our own day, unless the leaders of public opinion are alive to the danger, and supply to their constituents early, precise, and full information. The experiment now made in our colonies is unparalleled in the history of our species. Servile classes have previously emerged from slavery, but the circumstances under which the transition has been effected have differed vastly from those characterising the recent change in our colonies. Whatever those circumstances the revolution is cheering. To see any of our fellow men,—partakers of our common nature, and sharers in our blissful hopes, forcing themselves upwards in the scale of rational existence, wrenching from the iron grasp of tyranny its long abused power, and arraying themselves anew in the attributes and rights of immortal beings, is a spectacle ever grateful, however calamitous the evils by which it may be momentarily accompanied. We do not hesitate to declare that the freedom of our now enfranchised bondsmen would have been cheaply purchased by civil convulsions, at which our ears would have tingled. Happily, however, it has been wrought by the force of moral principle, guided and signally blessed by that beneficent Being who is known in every age as the Father of the fatherless, and the refuge of the oppressed. It stands on record a proof to all succeeding times of the omnipotence of truth, the certain triumph of humanity, however formidable the forces arrayed against them, and protracted the struggle to which they may be summoned.

It can no longer be matter of doubt that a slave population, degraded and oppressed for centuries, a population which every effort has been made to brutalize, to whom kindness has been a stranger and cruelty a constant guest, who have been deprived alike of

home, of kindred, and of religion, may yet retain enough of our common nature to estimate aright the boon of freedom, and to apply its benefactions to their own improvement. The controversy of centuries has been terminated; the inhuman creed of slave dealers and of slavery advocates has been practically refuted; the impious dogmas of self-styled Christians and of Christian ministers, who have insulted the God of revelation by claiming his sanction for a system which revels in impurity, man-stealing, and murder, have been rebutted by facts which no sophistry can evade, and from the force of which no honest mind can escape. An advanced position has been gained by the friends of humanity, the importance of which will speedily be seen and felt. The American slave dealers must tremble when they look to our colonies, and woe be to those among them, who have hitherto pleaded the danger of emancipation as the reason of their upholding the existing system, if they do not instantly separate themselves from the impious and fiendish traffickers in human flesh. They can no longer lay the flattering unction to their souls, but must be content if they persist in their course to be branded as hypocrites or unbelievers. As such we proclaim them, whoever or whatever they may be. Bishops, ministers, elders, deacons, or whatever else they may be called, must all be content to have heaped upon them the scorn and contempt of the whole Christian world, if they do not promptly 'bring forth fruits meet for repentance.' But we are forgetting our immediate object, which was to introduce to our readers one of the most important and deeply interesting volumes to which the West Indian controversy has given rise. Its appearance at this precise moment is most opportune, and should it obtain, as it richly deserves, extensive circulation, it cannot fail to be productive of consequences highly beneficial. Captain Hodgson is an officer in her majesty's service, of high connexions, and of unblemished fame. Nearly related to more than one member of the Upper House, he had every inducement to conceal the enormities of our colonial system, but much to his own honor he has drawn aside the veil behind which the dark deeds of colonial functionaries have been long concealed. In October, 1833, he accompanied his regiment to the West Indies, where he remained till near the close of 1836, thus having an opportunity of observing the state of feeling which preceded the 1st of August, 1834, and the measures subsequently adopted in contravention of the Abolition Act. The period of his residence was precisely that respecting which it was of the utmost importance to the interests of humanity, that we should have the explicit and well considered report of an impartial and intelligent bystander. Such a report is contained in the volume before us; and the object of its publication is to caution 'the people of England that they will be de-

‘ceived, if they for one moment believe that the colonists, in
 ‘emancipating their apprentices, have other objects in view than
 ‘to lull the attention of the public in this country, and then, by a
 ‘series of local enactments, to bring back our free negro brethren
 ‘to a condition scarcely one degree removed from absolute per-
 ‘sonal slavery.’

The necessity for such a caution will not be denied by any who patiently examine our Author's statements. The great value of his book,—and at the present moment it is incalculable,—consists in its exposure of West India society, throughout its several grades. Governors, and lieutenant-governors, bishops, judges, attorney-generals, and magistrates are passed successively under review, and the difficulty felt on closing the book is to say which is the greatest criminal among them. A lively and graphic description is afforded of the habits and bearing of the different classes into which the white population is divided, and it is an appalling revelation which is made. We have long been accustomed to reason on the injurious influence of absolute power on its possessor, but we are free to confess that we were scarcely prepared for the disclosures which Captain Hodgson makes. Bad as we believed West Indian society to be, we did not fully realize the fact of its all pervading depravity. But our Author shall speak for himself. Referring to the arts which were employed to mislead the English public respecting the intentions and character of the negroes, he remarks :

‘The following are some of the arts practised to deceive the English public into a belief that the moment freedom was accorded to the slave, rebellion would display her standard from one end to the other of our West India possessions.

‘New colonial journals were called into existence, whose editors were commanded to dedicate their columns to fearful descriptions of the well-grounded panic existing among the European population, with dark and mysterious hints as to conspiracies existing on many of the estates, the object of which was the murder of the various proprietors. Government was called upon to be prepared with martial law ; an opposition was organized against every governor who might be disposed to lean to the side of humanity ; anonymous letters were at night scattered about the public streets, and thrown into the gardens of individuals, containing warnings at which any man might have been moved without the charge of weakness.* All this, it is true, en-

* ‘Such was the alarm among the UNINITIATED, that on Christmas Eve, in 1833, it was deemed requisite at Barbadoes to have a regiment ready to turn out at a moment's notice during the night ! it being circulated that the negroes purposed commencing the work of death when the whites should have assembled at the ball given at Government House. I subsequently saw, in one of the London opposition papers, a moving description of the consternation prevailing among the *respectable* classes on the occasion alluded to !’

venomed still more deeply the feelings of the colonists against their slaves, but signally failed in goading these poor people into a display of impatience or irritation, (the great wish of the planters,) and which would have afforded a corroboration of their assertions as to the awful position in which the mad scheme of freeing the blacks had placed them. Repeatedly at night, flames were seen ascending from different estates; the bell of alarm resounded from a thousand quarters, and the military were called out to afford their aid; but on arriving at the spot, it was generally discovered that the terrific act of incendiarism consisted in the simple burning of some untenanted shed or useless roots, effected by the planters' emissaries, with the view of fixing the odium of the act upon the negro; or if any damage were really done, it could generally be traced to some inebriated overseer having allowed his lighted cigar to fall among the canes.

'This was perfectly well known upon the spot; but those who had courage to expose the scheme were by far too few to withstand the powerful majority, whose ends were gained when these burnings were trumpeted forth in their newspapers, and subsequently re-echoed by their organs in England.

'A stranger to West India local politics might, with good reason, inquire whether the injury which *must* infallibly accrue to the plantations in the event of a rebellion, (to which all these arts would seem to propel the negroes,) would not more than counterbalance any distant advantage which they might derive from the awakened sympathy or timidity of the government in England.

'This forcibly struck me, and it was only by a residence upon the spot, and by a careful observation of passing circumstances, that I was enabled to unravel the secret springs of action. The contrivances resorted to shall be exposed to the gaze of my countrymen.

'The colonists were perfectly aware, in the first instance, of the innate mildness and submission of their unfortunate slaves; and in the second, that government could crush instantaneously the most powerful rising among them, should they be goaded to that extremity; while the English public being ignorant of these facts, and their newspapers teeming with descriptions of the insurrection at Barbadoes, the proclamation of martial law in Trinidad, the execution of a band of conspirators in Demerara, the consequence would be a large augmentation in the price of sugar, and probably a doubt as to the expediency of following up a bill which appeared fraught with such calamities. There was also another important reason for inducing in England a belief that the West Indies were on the verge of destruction. It was hoped that many absentees, owners of large estates, would immediately take the alarm; and fancying beggary before them, command their agents to dispose of the same at any sacrifice. This was eagerly anticipated by a band of harpies upon the spot, and numerous were the splendid properties purchased at an almost nominal sum. Surely these advantages fully counterbalanced the burning of a few plantations, or the sacrifice of some dozen useless negro lives.'—pp. 30—34.

In order fully to understand the policy of the colonists we must know something of their general character,—their standard of

morals,—and the official integrity of their functionaries. Let our readers study the following pictures, and they will no longer be surprized at the atrocities which constitute the every day performances of these gentlemen.

‘The clergy depend in a great degree for existence on the different Houses of Assembly ; their incomes can at any moment be reduced or augmented ; let them hesitate to acquiesce in any proposition submitted by the planters, and they are exposed to beggary, to worse than beggary ; since the press, controlled by the same planters, will inflict wounds upon their reputation which no time can cure. It is therefore scarcely to be expected that they should encounter the danger which an open sympathy in favour of the slave would drag upon their heads.*

‘These remarks will, of course, apply with more or less force, according to the character of the prelate who may be nominated to preside over the Church in this part of the world ; and if government should have the misfortune to make an indiscreet selection, the wide-spreading evil is shocking to contemplate. The bishop has, at least, eight hundred thousand souls under his care. What an awful responsibility, and, for a good man, what a god-like office ! But if he should be one with attainments far beneath mediocrity, buoyed up with vanity, whose airs of presumption, at once overbearing and undignified, render him the object of universal ridicule, what moral influence can he exert over the community at large ? What benefit can his numerous flock derive ? Can any good or wise measure be hoped from one whose miserable littleness of soul leads him to regard as an object of the highest importance, as the pinnacle, indeed, of earthly happiness, the being received with the roar of cannon at every island he may visit ?

‘Imagine the dignified position of a bishop, seated in the barge of a man-of-war, reckoning with feverish excitement the number of salvoes fired in his honor, and then complaining, with childish pettishness, that there had been ONE† discharge too few !

‘Do we not almost weep for poor human nature, when we hear that a bishop arriving in a port, and discovering that it was after the hour when military regulations sanctioned the firing of a salute, preferred to remain until the following morning on board, so that then (and that too on the Sabbath) his presence might be duly announced by the thunder of artillery ; interrupting the religious ceremonies of the day, assembling together all the idle of the station, and needlessly and cruelly harassing the troops, who are compelled to march several miles under a tropical sun, for the purpose of forming a guard of honor ? But do we not more than weep, if upon its pleasing Providence to

* ‘The Rev. Mr. Harte, a clergyman at Barbadoes, noted for his benevolence, after being persecuted in every possible form, for endeavouring to instruct the negroes, was finally arraigned on, if I remember correctly, a charge of high treason.’

† ‘A literal fact.’

inflict an awful hurricane upon a portion of the diocese, casting thousands and tens of thousands naked and beggars upon the public streets,—do we not, I repeat, more than weep, if we find a bishop, so far from endeavouring to stay the effects of the mighty calamity, increasing them a hundred-fold by his insane and dangerous measures? If appointed a *distributor* of the funds so generously accorded by the British public in aid of the suffering thousands, does he correctly discharge his sacred duty in granting large sums to planters* in absolute affluence, in insisting that other large sums should be expended in beautifying *his* churches, or in other words, feeding his vanity, at the very moment so many hapless blacks were rotting in the highways, without one hand being stretched out to relieve their misery, or any prospect of receiving one farthing of what the people of England chiefly intended for them, the most numerous and the most helpless? And when checked in these proceedings by the head of the government, what words are sufficiently strong to apply to the man who could circulate pamphlets upon the subject, thereby compelling the governor to publish a reply in the newspapers, to counteract the perilous intent of the episcopal attack?

‘What a spectacle! What an example to the community! The king’s representative and a bishop in *public* collision, and in collision on such a subject!

‘With an example like this, little can be expected from the inferior clergy, save neglect of their spiritual functions, and indecent interference in worldly matters. It is lamentable to observe the eagerness with which, in the West Indies, they enter the arena of angry discussion, and how constantly the colonial journals are filled with effusions penned by clerical gentlemen, breathing a spirit the very reverse of what should be expected from teachers of Christianity, while at the same time they convey no very elevated idea of the literary attainments of West India clergymen.

‘I am not desirous of pursuing this subject; the reader’s own feelings will determine how far instruction to their flocks can be expected from characters like these.’ †—pp. 35—40.

Of the members of the bar generally, an equally unfavorable sketch is given; and the scenes that take place in their misnamed courts of justice are represented as beggaring all description.

* ‘A singular reason was advanced by the colonists for aiding the planter in preference to the slave, viz. that the latter being the former’s *property*, the more he was maimed or reduced by sickness, the greater the former’s loss, and *ergo*, that the planter should receive accordingly!! Had it not been for the energetic measures of Sir Lionel Smith, this abominable doctrine would have been carried into effect.’

† ‘If the reader can obtain a few Demerara papers, it will be worth his while to peruse some productions therein, signed ‘W. W. Harman,’ rector of St. Swithin’s parish, in which is comprised that portion of district D. from Plantation Best to La Grange, inclusive.’

'I confess,' says our Author, 'I could not witness without amazement the extraordinary scenes occasionally exhibited in their courts of justice—scenes to which, in comparison, those at our own Middlesex Sessions, or even those at the Recorder's Court at Cork, shine resplendent with dignity. The lie is frequently given from the Bench to the Bar, and of course retorted from the Bar to the Bench; the Secretary for the Colonies has frequent appeals from the mutual recriminators, and the Governor-General of the islands is occasionally called upon to suspend a judge.

'All, therefore, is anarchy, violence, and vulgarity, in the higher courts; and increased anarchy, violence, and vulgarity, in the minor. Sometimes one magistrate orders the constables to conduct a brother magistrate to the jail; while he that is thus sentenced seizes the constable by the throat, and defies his enemy to fulfil the threat. All this in the presence of numerous gangs of slaves, whom the party to which these well-conducted gentlemen belong represent as inaccessible to reason, and to whom subordination or obedience to the laws cannot be taught. The following extract from a journal, detailing one of these occurrences, will amply corroborate what I have advanced:—

'Mr. Daniel Hart appeared before Dr. Madden this day, charging an apprentice with a robbery to the amount of five shillings.

'Dr. Madden.—There is not a shadow of proof against the accused, and I shall at once discharge him.

'Mr. Hart.—I am a magistrate, and—

'Dr. Madden.—I cannot permit you, nor any one else, to come into my court and attempt to browbeat me by violence. You must conduct yourself with propriety, or I shall insist on your leaving the office.

'Mr. Hart.—I will not leave the office until I please. I AM A MAGISTRATE AS WELL AS YOU, and will remain until I choose to go.

'Dr. Madden.—You shall not, if you conduct yourself improperly. Constables, put Mr. Hart out of the office.

'Mr. Hart (to the constables).—Put me out, if you dare. Recollect I am one of your employers. I am as good as Dr. Madden.

'Dr. Madden.—Constables, I call upon you, and upon all present who are special constables, to put Mr. Hart out.

'The constables stared and stood motionless. Dr. Madden called upon Mr. Mitchell, the reporter for the *Despatch*, and who is a special constable, to put Mr. Hart out. Upon Mr. M. going up to Mr. Hart, Mr. H. seized him by the collar, and gave him in charge to the constables, with orders to take him to the cage; and they would certainly have done so, had not Dr. Madden gone out into the piazza and rescued him.'

'Before the reader has recovered from his astonishment at this truly West Indian forensic scene, I will plunge him into still greater by introducing to his acquaintance a celebrated judge of one of the colonies.

'Through what channel he obtained the appointment, I will not stop to inquire; suffice it to say that he was an Irishman, piqued himself upon his Hibernian humor and accent, and burned to rival in facetiousness the renowned Lord Norbury of punning fame. This might have

been tolerably harmless ; but he was at the same time one of the most dissolute characters in existence : living publicly with a harlot ; drunk at all periods ; night after night found insensible from liquor in the public streets ; and in the morning bearing even on the judgment-seat the marks of recent and beastly debauchery. Can the mind of man imagine a more degrading spectacle than that of such a person pronouncing the stern sentence of the law ?—pp. 42—46.

The inveterate prejudices to which the slave system has given rise are familiar to our readers. They pervade colonial society, and operate with deadly force against its improvement. In other quarters of the globe the manumission of a slave has been followed, gradually it may be, but still certainly, by his identification with the superior and governing body. His personal qualities have been allowed fair play, and if they were such as to merit esteem and confidence, he has been admitted into the best circles and has attained his proper influence among his brother freemen. This was signally the case in Rome, as every school-boy knows. But it has been different in the West Indies. The manumitted African slave carries about with him the badge of his former servitude. The color of his skin is a standing witness against him, which perpetuates injustice after the legal sanction claimed for it has long been withdrawn. No matter how affluent, polished, and virtuous he may be,—character has not the weight of a feather against the fatal mark which his Creator has stamped on his brow. This feeling is carried to the most absurd, and were it not for the wickedness of the thing, we should say the most laughable extent, as the following extract will show :

‘ A short time after my arrival, I witnessed an exemplification of this feeling, in a somewhat singular manner ; and for the amusement and edification of the reader, I will describe the circumstances in detail.

‘ One night at a ball, I perceived an extremely pretty girl, seated, in a melancholy manner, in a corner of the room, the generality of the ladies passing her with a sneer, or with averted head. She looked so innocent, and, at the same time, so unhappy and forlorn, that I sympathized with her evident suffering, and to remove her embarrassment, led her to the dance.

‘ I soon saw that I had committed a solecism against fashionable manners. There was such whispering among the ladies, such flaunting of fans, such marked personal rudeness when they came in contact with me and my partner, that I was beyond measure relieved when the set was concluded. I was now shunned by the ladies, and pointed at as a species of monster.

‘ Totally at a loss to divine why I was thus cast out of the pale of society, I availed myself of the favour with which I flattered myself to be regarded by a certain ‘Lady-Patroness’ of the assembly, and implored from her a solution of the mystery. At first she scorned reply ; but moved afterwards by my evident contrition and mortification, she

at length exclaimed, 'What could induce you to insult the ladies in such a manner? what put it in your head to dance with a *Costie*?'

'I was now more puzzled than ever. I was well aware that fine ladies in all coteries have little pet words to describe various objects, and that occasionally something very naughty may be wrapped up in something apparently very simple; but this appeared to me so far-fetched, that I at once displayed my ignorance, and confessed, with a blush, that I had never before heard the term '*Costie*.' My peace was made, my fair protectress assured the society that I had merely sinned from error, and prepared to instruct me in colonial etiquette.

'You must know, then,' she said, (I repeat her expressions word for word,) 'that there are different castes in the West Indies. For example:

'A Mulatto is the offspring of a black and white.

'A Mustie is the offspring of a white and a mulatto.

'A Fustie is the offspring of a mustie and white.

'And a Costie, you wicked man, is the offspring of a fustie and a white. You have therefore committed a crime to-night almost as heinous as if you had selected for a partner a Sambo, which all the world knows is the offspring of a mulatto and a black.'—pp. 60—62.

Those who have perused a work bearing the name of Mrs. Carmichael, and entitled, '*Domestic Manners in the West Indies*,' must be aware of the glowing descriptions she has furnished of the social habits and moral worth of the colonists. How this lady could permit her name to be attached to a publication drawn up by others, and which sets truth at defiance in every page, it is not for us to say. It is enough to remark, and truth compels the declaration, that a more immoral and vicious state of society does not exist on earth. It is corrupt at the very heart, outwardly fascinating to the casual observer, but loathsome and defiling within. The every day practices of the colonists are so utterly at variance with the most obvious requirements of common morality, that great difficulty has been experienced by the friends of the negro in making them known to the English public. There has been a false delicacy on this point, but the time is come when it must be laid aside. The interests of the enfranchised population are at stake, and the truth must therefore be told. Captain Hodgson treats this part of the case with all the instinctive delicacy of an English gentleman; yet he discloses enough to awaken our loathing and disgust. Several examples are given, for which we must refer to the volume itself. The following extract, in refutation of Mrs. Carmichael's representation, will suffice for our purpose.

'Without longer preamble, I fearlessly assert, that this description of the state of morality in the West Indies is not only incorrect in every point, but that it is almost out of human possibility that chastity ~~can~~ exist among the female population of the whites, owing to the

licentious examples which are presented to them from their very childhood. Now to facts—facts notorious to all who have had the misfortune of residing in these colonies. Almost every unmarried man on his first arrival, whether a stripling from school, or one whose appearance and grey hairs denote a speedy gathering to his fathers, forms a connexion with a negro or coloured girl, who, for the time (for he is constantly changing) bears his name, is openly seen at the windows of his residence, and resides with him until it suits his views to marry. Hence, it comes to pass, that scarcely an European is without relatives, the offspring of these connexions. A young lady, on becoming a wife, finds herself at once the step-mother of a large family of mulattoes; and a married woman, arriving from England unexpectedly, sees her husband surrounded by harlots, many of them evincing proofs of approaching maternity. The mother is introduced in like manner to the prostitute of her son, and the sister to that of her brother. Is it in the nature of things that the female mind can remain long uncontaminated amidst scenes like these? Farther even than this; so little in this corrupted clime is chastity regarded, that passing unnoticed the disgusting shamelessness with which adultery is perpetrated and applauded, I have known fathers — yes, *fathers*—compel their daughters to associate familiarly with their mistresses, and allow these strumpets, *en famille*, to claim precedency over their legitimate European offspring. I am not harsh enough to deny that these unhappy girls MAY continue virtuous, MAY remain unpolluted in the veriest stews of corruption; still the probability is, I should imagine, that mind and body must be irretrievably lost! That I may not be considered as drawing on my imagination for these frightful pictures, I will ask the organ of the colonists, already alluded to, whether she can dispute in the minutest points these details, and whether she be not acquainted, and that intimately, with many to whom my remarks will apply?—pp. 67—69.

The following scene, which occurred at a levee, in Trinidad, is thoroughly colonial, and would move our laughter were not the happiness of thousands in the hands of the men described.

‘Notwithstanding this coarseness of manners among the colonists, they pant with extraordinary anxiety for the distinction of *military* rank, and the privilege of exhibiting a tinselled jacket. They have, therefore, formed a large force of militia, with an enormous list of colonels and generals. They seize every opportunity of appearing in costume; and to see them caparisoned in comical fancy trappings, smelling of treacle and stinking of rum, ushered into an apartment with pomp, and responding to brilliant titles, beggars any caricature ever produced by the inimitable Cruikshank.

‘Hearing one day at Trinidad that a levee was to be held, and never having been presented, I made up my mind to attend it. On the morning fixed for the ceremony, a constant discharge of ordnance was kept up from gun-fire until twelve o'clock; a line of soldiers was formed in every street, and a guard of honour over each store which had the good fortune of calling a militia-chief, master. Making my

way with some difficulty through formidable bands, and hearing many witty remarks as to how much finer their uniforms were than those of the king's troops, I, at length, succeeded in reaching the government house. Being rather before the time, I amused myself by surveying the scene. The first conspicuous object was a pasteboard figure of a man, the size of life, pierced with innumerable bullet-holes. This, I believe, was intended as an illustration of the perfection to which the colonists had arrived in pistol-shooting, at which they daily practise with the view of becoming proficient in the noble science of duelling; or it might have been a hint as to what a satirist of their proceedings might expect. In different parts of the chamber stood huge tables, covered with tumblers and cases containing brandy, rum, and shrub. While I was puzzling my imagination as to what could be the appearance of people, whose throats were capable in this scorching clime of swallowing such fiery ingredients, the folding-doors were thrown open, and in rushed tumultuously, not exactly a herd of swine, but something not unlike—the magnates of the island!—generals, colonels, majors, hussars, lancers, and dragoons, artillery and infantry, with a staff that defies enumeration.

‘Never, never can be erased from my memory the first impression made by the motley gang. At the impulse of the moment, I started back with alarm, apprehending that I had fallen among maniacs, or, at all events, a crew of inebriated masqueraders: being, however, seriously assured that they were officers, I screwed my muscles to rigidity, and prepared to mark the result. They were arrayed in uniforms, of which it was impossible to say which was the most fantastic: the strolling players of the colony might well be suspected of having let out their theatrical wardrobes for the occasion.

There were guerilla dresses, Hungarian pelisses, and improved (according to the wearers' taste) British uniforms. Grey-headed old men were habited as dashing lancers, and boys of sixteen appeared in the garb of generals. The chief* barrister of the settlement, in person the very counterpart of the lowest description of bum-bailiff, with a fat, unmeaning countenance and bloated features, wore a sort of golden armour, with an aiguillette and epaulette of enormous dimensions on each shoulder; while on his breast glittered a bauble, meant to represent the star of the order of the garter. His clerk followed him at an humble distance as squire, or aide-de-camp, modestly caparisoned as a colonel of hussars. There was a linen-draper as quarter-master-general, and an auctioneer as adjutant-general. Six store-keepers, or rum-sellers appeared as brigadiers, attended by a suite of 'prentice boys, dressed as king's aides-de-camp. The exact nature of the remaining uniforms I could not define, so plastered were they with gold and silver. I shall, therefore, merely observe, that they were all equally

* ‘I have unconsciously fallen into an error in describing this person as the ‘chief barrister;’ I should have said a *leading* one. The merit of being the *chief* is on all sides conceded to Mr. Charles Warner, who, being a gentleman by birth, does not mix in these upstart follies.’

magnificent, and the wearers thereof of rank equally illustrious. During some time, they in solemn majesty paced the apartment, jingling their spurs in a manner truly warlike, and striking with awe and envy us poor soldiers of his majesty's line. At length, 'impatient for the fray,' they commenced an attack on the delicate refreshments, with which I have described the tables to be garnished. Demi-jean* after demi-jean vanished before these heroes. I had before heard of fire-eaters, but never until this moment could I have believed it possible for mortal man to swallow the liquid fire, quaffed with such eagerness by these generals and colonels. And now voices were given to them; they talked, 'heavens how they talked!' They had lately, be it understood, been employed in the field of Mars, for which they shall receive due honour in a future chapter. By their account, the army in the peninsula underwent less hardships than those encountered by them in the marshes of Naparima; and the troops under Sir John Moore retreated with less order at Corunna, before the French, than did they before a concourse of old women and children at Cocorite. And they contradicted each other: one general swore by his puncheons, that *his* division had done the work—while another, in frantic language, claimed the palm for his. The chiefs were joined in the discussion by their respective staffs, and assuredly there was less confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel. Angry scowls overshadowed the countenances of all parties, and I, every moment, expected to witness a sanguinary combat, when fortunately the door of the presence-chamber was unclosed, and in REELED these worthies to offer their homage to that dignified representative of majesty, better known by the HONOURABLE appellation of the 'immaculate vice-treasurer.'

'After the levee, with the hope of burying all angry feelings, the militia officers adjourned to a tavern, where a collation was prepared, at which presided the 'immaculate vice-treasurer;' enlivening the scene by the exhibition of several acts of tomfoolery, and aiding in keeping up the disgusting revel by the spouting of his usual maudling orations. Here swords were actually unsheathed by the warriors, and nothing but the magic word ARREST, could have prevented their blades from being stained with blood. Peace being, however, once more restored, the officers remained at table until night-fall, when they quitted for the theatre, where was to be a performance, as the play-bills had it, 'under the immediate patronage of the militia, who would on the occasion appear in full uniform.' They were, of course, headed by the same 'immaculate vice-treasurer,' under whose eye again occurred scenes, which I will not sully the paper by recording. It is enough to tell, that after noise, oaths, and blows among the men, shrieks and fainting among the women, many members of the party hurried to the neighbouring fields with pistols, and the miserable farce was terminated by more than one fearful tragedy.'—pp. 80—87.

We have recently witnessed to the astonishment of the

* 'A bottle containing about four-gallons-and-a-half.'

empire an insidious and base attempt to provide a substitute for African slaves in the person of the Coolies of India. The attempt has been made—alas ! that such should be the fact—under the sanction of her majesty's present ministers ; but thanks to Lord Brougham the daring wickedness has been dragged to light, and its progress has been stayed. The attempt was but a repetition of what had been tried on a smaller scale with the peasantry of Madeira and Fayal, two islands subject to the crown of Portugal. No sooner had the British legislature decreed the annihilation of slavery, than vessels were despatched from our colonies with speed and secresy to these islands, where the most glowing descriptions of the fortunes to be realized in the West Indies had previously been circulated among the peasantry. The result was just what Lord Brougham and other opponents of the East India slave trade affirmed to be inevitable, and a knowledge of it only increases our satisfaction, at the success of his lordship's meritorious efforts.

Once arrived in the colonies, they found themselves beyond redemption at the mercy of those by whom they had been deluded, and who now throwing off the mask, sold the astounded creatures to the highest bidders, by whom they were distributed over the country, without, as I have been informed, in many instances, the least regard to the ties of family. In every conceivable point of view their lot was infinitely more miserable than even that of the negroes ; for although exposed, like these, to the same treatment as to the degree of toil and coercion, they were far from being sharers with them in the advantages intended to be secured by the 'Abolition Act.' The black slaves had the right, at any period, of purchasing their immediate freedom ; not so with the white slaves. 'Seven years,' said the bond ; and well resolved was each Shylock to insist to the last on the pound of flesh.

'But even had the Portuguese, like the negroes, possessed the right of offering redemption-money, it would have availed them nothing. Far from their country, with which no communication was carried on, save through the circuitous route of England, it would have been impossible for them to quit the place to which they had been beguiled ; they must have betaken themselves to the woods, and then, compelled by want of food to return to the vicinity of the towns or plantations, they would have been seized and condemned as vagrants ; in other words, their former state as slaves on the sugar estates to the planters, would have been changed for that of slaves on the public roads to the government.

'The circumstance of the Portuguese and their masters being ignorant of each other's tongue would have been attended at first with some degree of inconvenience and embarrassment, even had the colonists, on the score of humanity and generous feeling, been totally opposite to what they are ; but it was now found fraught with serious evil, as the violent and impatient manner (in the absence of the power of explanation by words), with which the managers endeavoured to point out to these

labourers what was required from them, only served to heighten the consternation with which the discovery of the deceptions used had already filled them.

‘Conceiving that sufficient has been said to convey an accurate idea of the immediate position of the Portuguese on their reaching the estates of persons by whom they had been purchased, I will present an outline of their subsequent lot.

‘Without distinction of sex or age, they were indiscriminately mixed with the negroes; the robust man, the delicate female, the tender child, were alike compelled to toil in the cane-fields, under a tropical sun, and the same quantum of labour was demanded from them as from their fellow-slaves—the negroes.

In vain, after a short time, did they begin to implore as a mercy, that at all events, if slaves they must remain, they might be sent to cocoa-estates, where, under the shade, they could work without being struck by immediate death. In vain, on their prayer being refused, did they endeavour to make known their condition to the public authorities—*no interpreter* of their language could they find; and in one island *no interpreter* was *allowed*. In vain did they strive to escape to the towns, with the hope that their ghastly appearance, and bodies mangled by stripes, might attract the attention of the humane; they were quickly stopped by the guards stationed at all points, and lodged in the prisons on the estates, where some expired from the sufferings they were doomed to undergo; or if, by chance, one did overcome the vigilance of the watchmen, and make his way towards the government house, he was seized and shipped off to the coast; an effectual way, truly, of precluding the possibility of his obtaining a hearing.

‘The constitution of these white slaves soon began to break under this treatment. Disease in hideous forms was not slow in exhibiting itself; and it was shown beyond a doubt, in this instance, that the labour, which is so fatal to negroes, can never be performed by men whose bones and sinews are covered with a white skin.

‘Whole families, and theirs was the happiest lot, were swept from the face of the earth; while those who had the misfortune partially to recover, were, if unable to pursue their labour, turned off houseless and friendless by the vampires who had banqueted to the last drop on their hearts’ blood. Their condition became so truly piteous as to move the very blacks to compassion. So broken in spirit were these free-born subjects of the crown of Portugal, that they were to be seen suing on their knee the charity of the British West India negro slaves; and the charity sued for was never refused by the kind-hearted, calumniated black.’—pp. 216—221.

A petition was presented by the apprenticed Portuguese of Trinidad to the governor which speaks for itself, and details a series of atrocities which may well shame into silence the advocates and panegyrists of colonial integrity.

We regret that our limits do not permit our extracting the account given by our author of the measures adopted in Trinidad, under the immediate sanction of Sir George Hill, in August,

1834, to drive the negroes to rebellion. We know no terms sufficiently strong to express our sense of the culpability of the governor. It is enough to remark, that his conduct was worthy of himself. Having embezzled the public money to a considerable amount, while vice-treasurer for Ireland, he obtained from his Tory patrons a colonial appointment, in which he has been madly continued by their Whig successors. For such a man to forget what was due to the sovereign he represented was only natural, but that thanks should have been rendered him for the prevention of an insurrection which was never dreamt of, and which he did his utmost to excite, and that, too, by men professing to be the friends of the negro, is one of the most singular and disgraceful facts in the history of our colonial office.

We must close with the following extract, in which, referring to the future, Captain Hodgson enforces on the Abolitionists the necessity of persevering in the course they have hitherto pursued. We concur in his advice, and heartily recommend it to our readers.

‘It is to the people then that we must look in this instance, and more particularly to that portion or *party* among them, if we may fairly call by that name those whose objects are so far above the ordinary objects of party,—it is to them I say who have virtually done all that yet has been done, that we must look for the accomplishment of all, (which is the greater part) that yet remains to be done. To that party then I would say in conclusion, Let them go on as they have begun, and the same success that has attended their past endeavours, will also wait upon their future labors. Let them continue, as they have pledged themselves to do, and as they have done in one memorable instance,* in a spirit more pure than patriotism, more holy than mere human benevolence, to make this the paramount object of their public endeavours, the indispensable condition of their political confidence, and it cannot be but that nicely balanced as the two great parties of the state now are, whichever is for the time at the helm, willingly or perforce must fall into their views. Let them only not fear to use their power so lately tried, let them only not shrink from their new responsibilities, nor draw back from the performance of their increased, though altered duties, and that great experiment which we said before was to be tried, and which it cannot be too often repeated this country has undertaken to try, shall be made under their auspices, and to their honor; the experiment I mean of civilizing and raising the black to the level even of the white.

‘What may be the issue of this mighty attempt is known only to Him who has created both, and who scans with an unerring eye the capabilities of each; but to them, that is, to the Emancipationists of

* ‘The late Gloucestershire election, where the candidate was rejected, because he would not pledge himself to immediate abolition.’

Great Britain, will belong the praise of having made the trial ; and when that trial has been made, but not till then, they will have done what man could do, to vindicate, in the person of the degraded African, the dignity of the human race, and the more glorious equality of the Christian brotherhood.'—pp. 349—351.

We need scarcely add our warm recommendation of Captain Hodgson's volume. We have already said enough to evince our opinion on its value, and we shall be surprised if it do not obtain an extensive and commanding circulation. Independently of the views which are broached, and the information communicated, on the long agitated question of slavery, it does more to acquaint us with the genuine character of West India society than any other publication which has appeared for years.

Art. IV. 1. *An Essay on Apostolical Succession, being a Defence of a Genuine Protestant Ministry against the Exclusive and Intolerant Schemes of Papists and High Churchmen. With an Appendix containing a Review of Dr. W. F. Hook's Sermon on 'Hear the Church,' preached before the Queen.* By THOMAS POWELL, Wesleyan Minister.

2. *The Revival of Popery. A Sermon Preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, on Sunday, May 20, 1838.* By GODFREY FAUSSETT, D.D., of Magdalen College, the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity.

TO begin with the last, which will show that the Author of the first of these publications may say, with David, 'What have I done? is there not a cause?' we beg our readers to observe, that whatever we may affirm of the popery that is cherished in the University of Oxford, they must not ascribe it to dissenting prejudices ; for it has been all proclaimed at St. Mary's, by the Professor of Divinity. Dr. Faussett's Sermon commences ominously with these words, 'To the sincere and reflecting members of our reformed and *apostolical* church ;' and in this strain the preacher advances, inveighing against Catholic emancipation, till he observes, that 'one thing at least is certain, that a revival of the contest between the churches of England and of Rome has become inevitable, or rather that it has actually commenced, and that inasmuch as it has fallen on us almost by surprise, it has found us very imperfectly prepared for our defence.' 'Now, there are notoriously existing among us a large and influential body of Christians, consisting chiefly of the dissenting sects, which fell into schism, at or near the period of the Reformation ; of

those other denominations which have more recently seceded from the church; and unhappily we may add, of those also, who, though nominally members of the Church of England, have in some measure adopted Sectarian views. All these persons, however widely they may differ from each other on many points, naturally constitute but one class, as far as concerns the matter now before us; viz. that of those who despise, or lightly regard, ecclesiastical authority and Christian unity, the claims of an Apostolical episcopacy, the divine commission of the Christian priesthood; who neglect the guidance of their appointed pastors, put no faith in their exclusive importance as the ministers and stewards of God's holy mysteries, and, by a chain of consequences, as necessary as it is deplorable, degrade the sacraments themselves to a corresponding level; either regarding them nearly as initiatory and commemorative rites, or, at the best, losing more or less of their implicit reliance on them as the seals of the Christian covenant—the efficacious means of grace and salvation. On the other hand, while they thus undervalue the authority and importance of the church, they as proudly exalt their own, claiming the unlimited exercise of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture, and maintaining the undoubted capacity for such judgment in all ordinary Christians.'

Now, though Dr. Faussett asks, 'How could the advocate of such views enter the lists of controversy with the subtle Romanist?' an acute Jesuit would say, 'Defend me from the advocate of such views, and I will defend myself from Dr. Faussett.' It is a fact that the shrewd Romanist will not enter the lists against thorough Protestants, who are in principle Dissenters, whatever they may be in practice; while he shows, on all occasions, the greatest readiness to break a spear with the Church of England. Such a man would exult over Dr. Faussett's Sermon, and say, 'Go on, Oxford Professors of Divinity, in this career, and our triumph is sure.' For there is not a single principle laid down in this discourse, dedicated as it is to the junior students in the University of Oxford, that can preserve them from popery: on the contrary, the Professor expressly waives the consideration of the traditions of the church, as an authority distinct from Holy Scripture; because it was to be the subject of one of the Bampton Lectures delivered that day; but still he maintains that 'the principle of tradition was not only useful, but necessary, being dangerous only by excess, or abuse.' Alas, for poor Protestantism, when its defence is committed to such hands! The question of Baptismal Regeneration, also, is slurred over in a similar manner, with an evident leaning to that papistical dogma; but, on the doctrine of the real presence, as transubstantiation has most improperly been called, and on the worship of saints and images, Dr. Faussett takes his stand. Yet, strange to

tell, after admitting the authority of traditions, as 'a necessary principle,' he labours to show that idolatry, the leading characteristic of religious apostacy, was 'widely prevalent as early as the sixth and seventh centuries; and, in the eighth, the conscientious opposition of the Eastern Emperor only served to confirm its uncontrolled dominion.' Thus, authority is conceded to a tradition of very high antiquity, in favor of a practice which our Professor pronounces idolatry, but which a Romanist would contend never could have acquired uncontrolled dominion if it had deserved that character. A Jesuit would say to the Professor, 'What are your orders worth, if derived from a church which was under the uncontrolled dominion of idolatry, the leading characteristic of religious apostacy?'

On this question, apostolical succession, it is time that the public should be well informed. There are three periods of our history to which these apostolicals may appeal—that of the first introduction of christianity into our isle—that of the visit of Austin under the pontificate of Gregory—and that of the Norman conquest. It would naturally occur to most apostolicals, that the first was the preferable era; for the nearer the fountain the purer the stream; and to men boasting of apostolical succession, nothing is so desirable as to ascend up to the apostolic age. Accordingly, we find some men of this school contend vehemently for the apostolic age as the period of the introduction of christianity, and call the visit of Austin, the introduction of Popery. But unfortunately no mortal knows who introduced christianity into Britain. That many different persons have been mentioned is a proof that it is all utter uncertainty. Lucius, a British king, has been called our apostle; Glastonbury points to its sacred thorn flowering at christmas, as a proof that Joseph of Armathea was the apostle of our isle; and last, not least, came the apostle Paul. This of course is the favourite legend of the apostolicals, but all that they can do is to show that this may be true, which may be said of many another. Woe to the man who could bring no better proof of his title to the estate, or the peerage, which he claims. But as it is utterly unknown who was the man that first preached christianity in Britain, he may have been what is called a layman, without any ministerial ordination at all. We are aware that some, horrified at the supposition of a layman presuming to preach, would exclaim, 'such intrusion into sacred things could have had no existence in apostolic days'; but as 'great swelling words of vanity' have far less influence over us than the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus, by the lips of the inspired writers, we appeal to Acts viii. 1, and xi. 19, to prove, that when 'the whole church was scattered from Jerusalem, *except the apostles*'; 'they who were dispersed went preaching the word.'

Or the first preacher to the Britons may have been one of those, who, influenced by the various causes of dissension recorded in the New Testament, withdrew from the congregation of which he was a member, cut himself off from the unity of the church, and yet, believing christianity true, brought with him, not only that knowledge which he orally communicated to us, but some of the books of the New Testament which would correct any errors of his own. A parallel to this is well known to have occurred in the case of the Nestorians, who separated from what was called the Catholic Church, and yet became active missionaries in the East. What madness has seized men, that they delight to hang their souls upon a hair? For what else are they doing who make their salvation depend on certain rites, whose validity depends on certain men, who trace their priesthood to the Apostles, but who, when put to the proof, are at fault at the very first step?

But Austin, being well known in history, is preferred by some to the anonymous Apostle of an earlier era. Do they mean, then, to give up all the British Christians who lived and died before the monk set his foot on the isle of Thanet, to the uncovenanted mercies of God? Or do they assert that Austin and his monks re-ordained all the British Clergy, or at least all the bishops? We know that, while Rome pushed her mission to the pagan Saxons, the Britons resisted her proud claims, and receded from her contact; and where is the priest who can tell whether his orders have come to him *pure* from the Vatican, or have descended from the possibly schismatic or laic, and certainly unknown source that preceded the visit of Austin? He that can solve this riddle shall be, not merely our *Cedippus*, but our great *Apollo*.

There is, however, another important era which demands the anxious attention of our apostolicals—that of the Norman Conquest. To our shame it may be proved, that none of our historians have so ably developed this event in our history as the French writer Thierry. But we all know that William deluged the church as well as the state with his Normans. “*Vœ victis*” was his cry. The most atrocious means were employed to substitute a French for a British, or rather a Norman for a Saxon hierarchy. In this conflict, a shepherd was often ousted by a wolf, and the bishop *de jure* was superseded by the prelate *de facto*. With whom then did the succession rest? Did might constitute right? But the whole tribe of the continental priests in communion with Rome, are smitten by Dr. Faussett, with the anathema pronounced on idolatry, that ‘they shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.’ For he traces up ‘the uncontrolled dominion of Idolatry’ to a period prior to that in which we were inundated by priests and bishops from France. As this was the last importation, and the article was forced upon the market by

the iron hand of a conqueror, the Established Clergy are deeply interested in this event, as vitally affecting their succession.

We pass over the ricketty reign of Henry the Eighth, because the breach in the succession may be supposed by Mr. Froude to have been healed, when the Pope's Nuncio, in the reign of Mary, reconciled the nation to the See of Rome. But what shall we say of the apostacy under Elizabeth, and all the subsequent changes down to the deprivation of the Non-juring bishops? Never was there a more entangled web than this boasted apostolic succession. Well might Mr. Froude fly to the infallibility of Rome; for nothing short of this could quiet the conscience that seeks repose in sacraments administered by this boasted apostolical priesthood.

But Dr. Faussett protests against this section of his own church, as well as against the evangelicals and the schismatic dissenters, regarding as true churchmen none but those who are nearer to Rome, than the evangelicals, and farther from it than the Froudeites, or Puseyites. Are these alone the church of England? What a minute fraction of Christendom! You may put their church in a nut-shell. The greater part of the laity do not know whether they belong to it or not.

It will, however, be said by some, that though these Faussettites are the *élite*, the Church of England is a genus, consisting of all who are neither protestant nor catholic dissenters, and including several species. These are, beginning at one extreme, and ending at the opposite, the following:—

I. The dissenting or methodistic churchmen.

This was formerly a much larger class than it is at present; but, though now diminished, it is not yet extinct. They are lovers of good men under every name, rejoicing in activity and usefulness, meeting cordially with the Dissenters and Methodists, no longer as formerly, indeed, preaching for them, but lamenting with Baptist Noel, that this fraternal interchange of service is forbidden by episcopal authority. A few of the clergy of this class would much rather see in their pulpits, some Dissenters, than many of their own church, and think the dissenting sacrament as valid as their own; it can excite no surprise that others, at the opposite extreme, hate and despise this portion of their own brethren, more than Dissenters or Methodists. There lately were, if there are not now, lay preachers in this section, who without scruple officiate in the villages for those who are not within the established pale.

II. The evangelical churchmen.

This and the preceding sect, were originally identified, but are now very distinctly and rather widely separated; for while the former party have no fondness for the trammels of their own

church, many who agree with them in doctrine and religious spirit, strive to be as high Churchmen as conscience will permit, and indulge in a kind of preaching which shocks their own pious hearers as very little better than that of the worldly clergy. But even within this circle, there is anything but uniformity; for some have so much fire as expands their hearts and threatens to burst the shackle; while others have so much icy prudence and policy as to damp their zeal, if not to quench their vital fires.

III. The Calvinistic Churchmen.

These are not only satisfied that the articles of the Establishment are Calvinistic, but they say, 'if they are not, they ought to be; for this is the doctrine of Scripture, and we could not be Churchmen at all, if we did not believe that the 17th Article was intended to teach election.' This party agree with the theology of the great mass of the Evangelical Dissenters; though, for want of a theological education, Calvinism is seldom judiciously preached in the Church of England. Lady Huntingdon cherished and increased this band of Churchmen.

IV. Antinomian Churchmen.

Dr. Hawker, of Plymouth, may be regarded as their type; and when the coal-heaver of Gray's-Inn-lane was called to his great account, many of his disciples took refuge in this section of the Established Church. Mr. Vaughan, of Leicester, went farther in this course than almost any other man; but many an Antinomian Churchman makes his hearers antinomians, without being compelled to eat the bitter fruits of his own labours, as a Dissenting pastor must expect to do, if he disseminate these principles.

V. The Arminian Churchmen.

The Calvinistic class look towards Whitefield and the Tabernacle; but the Arminians turn to Wesley and the Foundry. The differences between these two distinguished men, made most noise abroad, where they formed two dissenting parties; but a distinction as real, within the endowed pale, escaped public notice. The Christian Observer has, at one time, been under the influence of one of these parties, and at another, under that of the opposite.

VI. The Orthodox Churchmen.

Orthodoxy among Dissenters means evangelical truth; but in the Establishment, it means almost anything but evangelical truth. Here, however, we might make a sub-division, for some go so near to the Evangelical clergy as to be mistaken for them; while others go as far to the opposite extreme of baptismal regeneration, and the *opus operatum* of popery.

VII. Millenarian Churchmen.

These are at present borne upon a spring tide, and are so full

of the speedy appearance of Christ, to reign bodily on the earth, or in the air, we know not which, that *this* is, with them, 'the Gospel of the Kingdom,' with which they threaten to preach themselves and their hearers mad.

VIII. Irvingite Churchmen.

When the tongues prevailed at Newman Street, they began to speak within the established pale; but, being silenced by authority, this class was kept low. Now, however, that Irvingism is not identified with strange voices, it is more freely cherished in the Established Church.

IX. Swedenborgian Churchmen.

A clergyman of Manchester was the chief propagator of the New Jerusalem Church, which still boasts of many disciples in the Church of England.

X. Southcotian Churchman.

We have ourselves been called to combat with such anomalies, and, in other instances, we know that episcopal orders have been employed to give weight to the pitiable revelations of Joanna.

XI. Socinian churchmen.

It is well-known that a grand effort was made by this party to obtain exemption from the necessity of swearing to Trinitarian creeds and articles; but, though they failed, few were honest enough to quit their livings; and in high places, even in cathedrals, Socinianism has been the favorite creed.

XII. Worldly churchmen.

Many, both of the clergy and laity, care nothing about the distinctions we have mentioned; but look upon the State Church as a very good way of keeping men in order, of providing genteelly for the younger sons of good families, and thus making religion respectable. The clergy of this class would say, with great *nonchalance*, 'I never trouble myself, or my hearers, about doctrines; but endeavour to make my parishioners good husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, neighbours and subjects, and then tell them, God is very merciful, and no doubt they will be saved.' These preachers purchase at a book-stall, sermons which they never read till they enter the pulpit; and think that hunting and horse-racing, theatres and cards, are very good Christian amusements.

XIII. Popish churchmen.

In our haste to reach these, we have passed by some parties, rather than strive to bring up the number of sects to a hundred and one, as some have done with regard to the Dissenters. The 'Oxford Tracts' may be regarded as the manifesto of the Popish class. The mere tyro in British ecclesiastical history knows, that there was a large and influential body of our clergy whose first wish was to have no reformation at all; and their second, to have as little as possible. These took a midway station

under Henry VIII.; reluctantly went farther with Edward VI.; returned readily to Rome under Mary; and went back sulkily to the half-way house, on the accession of Elizabeth. The 'Liturgy' and 'Catechism' of the Establishment show the influence of this party, which has always struggled against the Protestant tendencies of the better portion of the Church of England. The accusations of the Puritans have been repelled as calumnies; but a more honest spirit is springing up in the breasts of the papistical party, which justifies all that has been said and done by those who regarded the Church of England as not sufficiently reformed to be thoroughly Protestant. The extracts which Dr. Faussett has given in an appendix, show that it was not without reason, that he preached at Oxford, a sermon, 'on the revival of popery,' within his own church. We have not room for these, but the following from the 'Remains' of Mr. Froude may suffice to put our readers in possession of the secret.

'You will be shocked at my avowal, that I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the reformation. It appears to me plain, that, in all matters which seem to us indifferent, or even doubtful, we should conform our practices to those of the church which has preserved its traditionary practices unbroken. We cannot know about any seemingly indifferent practice of the Church of Rome, that it is not a development of the apostolic *ἡθος*, and it is to no purpose to say, that we can find no proof of it in the witness of the six first centuries—they must find a disproof if they would do any thing'—'I think people are injudicious who talk against the Roman Catholics for worshipping saints and honouring the virgin and images, &c. These things may, perhaps, be idolatrous: I cannot make up my mind about it.'—'P. called us the papal Protestant Church, in which he proved a double ignorance, as we are Catholics without the popery, and Church of England men without the protestantism.'—'The more I think over that view of yours about regarding our present communion service, &c. as a judgment on the church, and taking it as the crumbs from the apostles' table, the more I am struck with its fitness to be dwelt upon, as tending to check the intrusion of irreverent thoughts, without in any way interfering with one's just indignation.'—'Your trumpety principle about scripture being the sole rule of faith in fundamentals (I nauseate the word) is but a mutilated edition without the breadth and axiomatic character of the original. Really, I hate the reformation and the reformers more and more, and have almost made up my mind, that the rationalist spirit they set afloat is the *ψευδοπροφητεία* of the revelations.'—'Why do you praise Ridley? Do you know sufficient good about him to counterbalance the fact, that he was the associate of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Beza?'—'I wish you could get to know something of S. and W. (Southey and Wordsworth) and un-protestantize and un-Miltonize them. How is it we are so much in advance of our generation?'—*Froude's Remains.*

Dr. Faussett has given also an extract from the same author, in which he proposes to restore the monks in order to oppose the Dissenters.

But while the Professor shows, by a passage from a French work, that Rome is exulting in the march of affairs at Oxford, what are our Protestant bishops about? Their superintendence and authority are vaunted as essential to the preservation of the clergy from erratic movements; but these are denounced and opposed from various quarters, before we hear any thing from those who are placed on high, and supported at an immense expense, to see that the machinery of the church shall not go wrong.

Such is the efficacy of acts of uniformity, liturgies, or articles established by law, diocesan bishops and ecclesiastical courts! Such schisms there are within that church, which denounces all without as schismatic. Dr. Fausset exposes Mr. Froude's schemes for introducing monks, in order to check the progress of dissent; and there are churchmen who, shocked with that proposal, say, 'if it must come to this, give me dissent.' It is, indeed, surprising that the party which denounces the reform movements, as an imitation of the long parliament, does not see, that, in imitating the Lauds and Cosins of that day, it is doing the very thing that formerly united the whole nation against the Established Church. If the Froudeans or Puseyites could prevail, they would drive the more Protestant churchmen into the ranks of dissent, and would still fail to reconcile themselves to Rome, which would never be driven from its lofty maxim, 'let them come over to us: we shall never go over to them.'

Already the less papistical party which Dr. Faussett espouses has armed against itself the Wesleyan polemic, and shown that those who thought to cajole the methodists into the bosom of the establishment did not know them. The work which stands at the head of this article is written neither on the principles of the Dissenters, who think that the polity as well as the theology of the Christian church is prescribed in the 'New Testament;' nor on the principles of the establishment, as a *jure divino* episcopal church. It is moderate enough for a midway man, but severe enough for one who was expected to throw his weight into the scale of the church when it threatened to kick the beam. Mr. Powel shows that the inspired writers give no support to high church claims, and that the earliest fathers prove there was no original difference between bishops and presbyters. He exposes the nullity of the Popish ordinations of English bishops; and demonstrates the true apostolical succession, which is that of doctrine and spirit. As a Wesleyan, he naturally alludes to Archbishop Usher's idea of a bishop, as *primus inter pares*, as it is exhibited in the superintendent methodist preacher, who was

originally called the assistant preacher, because he assisted John Wesley. Such a diocesan episcopacy, Mr. Powel, of course, thinks lawful, provided it can be guarded against the assumption of a divine right.

‘Scriptural episcopacy is strictly the feeding and governing of the flock; and has nothing to do with governing ministers. Every true minister is a *Scriptural Bishop*.

‘Scriptural Church polity, as appears by the gifts of the Holy Ghost, by the example of the apostles, by the duty of doing all to edification, *allows* of and countenances such prudential arrangements amongst the ministers, as that some should have *more eminently* the office of governing in the church, presiding in the councils of ministers, &c. and that others should more particularly labor as *evangelists*, as pastors, as doctors, or teachers; others as apostles, or missionaries. This arrangement must never interfere with the principle, that the act of every *true minister*, in preaching, baptizing, administering the Lord’s Supper, and *ordaining* to the ministry, or governing the church, is, by *divine right*, equal to that of any other minister. A *superintendency* thus restricted and guarded, is not anti-scriptural. It violates no law laid down there. It is recommended by the distribution of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. No scriptural tyranny can be exercised by it. It promotes order, union, strength, and the edification of the whole. Call it episcopacy if you please. The name is not very important, only define the thing. I think the name episcopacy is not to be commended, because by *episcopus* or *bishop*, the Scriptures never mean a *superintendent of ministers*, but *only* of the *flock*; and, because, the *use* of the word in *ecclesiastical* writers has become ambiguous; and will always leave room for *cavilling*, and pretences to Ecclesiastical *tyranny*. It is against the strictest rules of right reason designedly to put an *ambiguous* word into a definition; the man that does it is a knave.

‘Episcopacy in the Church of England, viewed as the reformers viewed it, was in other words, a superintendency, of no more than human authority, designed for the *order*, *edification*, and *good government* of the *church*; *established on principle*, that all ministers by divine right are equal. All her ministers, who are qualified by piety, talents, and divine knowledge; by the special gifts of the Holy Spirit moving them to the work of the ministry; and who are solemnly set apart to it, according to the usages of that church, are true ministers of Christ. But every wicked man, in this or any other church, every unconverted man, however set apart, is a wolf, is a hireling, a thief, and a robber in the church.——The attempt to claim authority for bishops, as an order, by divine right, above that of other ministers, either in that church, or out of that church, is to declare war against the *divine right* of all *true ministers* and against the *peace* and *security* of every Christian Church. The advocates of these claims are the schismatics, or causers of division. They should be marked and shunned by every friend to the peace of the church. The man who aids them, or who wishes them God’s speed becomes a partaker of their sin, and an enemy to the peace of the church.’

The following passage is very significant, as coming from one who recognises superintendent ministers in his own communion.

‘Antichrist came into the church by an unguarded use of ministerial superintendency. The common appellation of bishops, says Beza, was that of minister, till, for the sake of government, one minister was placed over others, and began to be distinguished by the name of bishop. Justin Martyr calls him the president. From this, the devil placed, first, the foundation of tyranny in the church, bringing in the notion that the whole government of the church was, together with the name, given into the hands of one person. The scheme went on, from the bishop to the metropolitan—from metropolitans to patriarchs. Lastly the Pope claims to be universal bishop, Lord over the whole church, and to sit as God in the temple of God.’

In an appendix, Mr. Powel attacks Dr. Hook’s famous sermon, before the queen. It is entitled, ‘Hear the church,’ which is a counterpart to a text that has been imputed to a fanatic; ‘top not come down.’ This latter perversion of scripture, though more gross, is formed on the same model as Dr. Hook’s text. Favorite as it is with the church of Rome, it shows the truth of the remark, that the catholics quote the scriptures like men who know their hearers are not allowed to read and judge of them for themselves. Dr. Hook’s hearers might suppose that his text stood in the ‘New Testament’ in the form of a *command*; but our readers know that he has violated good taste, by taking the words out of their connexion, which is, ‘if the offending brother refuse to hear the church to whom ‘you tell the offence he has committed; let him be to you ‘as a heathen.’ With this affront to his distinguished audience, contained in his very text, the Dr. has associated another, in the flippant, vulgar sort of argument by illustration, which he has employed, to show, that the Church of England is the same as the old Church of Rome in England, ‘just as a man remains the same, after ‘he has washed his face, as he was before.’

Is not this a dainty dish
To set before a queen?

Who can wonder that it should be presumed he was told never to preach before the Queen again? But as that is now contradicted; we must give our virgin queen credit for more forbearance than was shown by another virgin Queen, who cried out from her pew to the preacher, ‘desist from that ungodly digression, and go ‘on with your text.’ Mr. Powell attacks this elegant simile of washing the face, and shows that the washing must have been with dirty water, if the churches remain the same. But he clearly proves, that such is the ‘contradiction between the two, that the

‘Dr.’s position is a mere fallacy, involving the real absurdity that ‘two religious societies, whose peculiar doctrines and discipline contradict each other, are one and the same; so that black is white.’ Mr. Powel concludes, that ‘the right of the Church of England to those church endowments which existed before the reformation is merely statute right. The parliament has as much power to alienate as to appropriate. If the church of England has a righteous claim to those endowments, any other church might, by another statute, have an equally righteous claim to them.’

All this from one of those whom bishops have lately been courting, and coaxing, and claiming as their own dear children! It is manifest, indeed, that the author belongs not to the class which opposes to the divine right of prelacy, the divine right of congregational episcopacy; but he would be thought by this latter party to be not far from the kingdom of God, and by the former is very likely to be called ‘a political Dissenter.’ To call him by this odious name, would be more easy than to answer his book, which the apostolicals are bound in honour and conscience to attempt. To grapple fairly with his arguments, would take the whole coterie, seven years. But they are more likely to pass it by unnoticed, or despatch it with a dignified sneer; ‘for the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.’ They who have nothing but the Bible to rest upon, may feel themselves obliged to grapple with texts; but they who trace their succession through those monsters of wickedness, the popes, up to the apostles, disclaim the vulgar methodistical road of proofs from holy writ, whose insufficiency they prudently maintain.

We, however, should have preferred a more complete discussion of the scriptural argument, than Mr. Powel has adopted. It would be profitable for the church of God, and safe for the souls of men, to be thoroughly imbued with this conviction—that a Christian might have studied the ‘New Testament,’ through a long life, committed every text to memory, and examined the import and connexion of every word; and, yet, never once have thought of this figment of apostolical succession by diocesan bishops. In fact, if his religious notions had been derived solely from the scriptures, he never would have thought of that which some men make essential to salvation. Shade of Chillingworth! whither has fled thy maxim, ‘The Bible alone is the religion of Protestants?’

If the Oxford writers of tracts deny the sufficiency of Scripture, Dr. Faussett joins them in contending for the necessity of tradition, by which they deliver themselves over, bound hand and foot, to the Pope, who solemnly deprived of her throne, and cursed Queen Elizabeth, the author and head of that church to which they belong. It is not uncommon for this party to de-

nounce Dissenters, as in league with infidels, though, when a clergyman became the 'devil's chaplain,' it was not one of his partners in episcopal ordination, but a Dissenter who met him in single combat, and put his party down; and, now, there is no body of people that is so notoriously giving up Christianity to the scorn of the infidel, as that which is contending for the exclusive validity of Christian orders and sacraments, derived through the Church of Rome. If we could suppose that this alone, is genuine Christian religion, this which recognises the popes and bishops of the corrupt ages, as the authorised ministers of Jesus Christ, channels of mercy to mankind—a rational man has a right to deny that this religion could come from the moral governor of the world. Miracles could not prove it. God himself taught his ancient church, that the moral was above the physical evidence. If a man wrought signs and wonders to induce others to worship idols, they were to stone him to death. The moral glory of Jesus Christ gives him a higher claim on our reception than all the splendour of his miracles. For the whole force of the miracles rests on a moral principle—that the holy God, who is truth and no lie, would not employ his power to bear witness to an impostor and palm on us a delusion. But the apostolical succession through the Roman monsters, gives the lie to the moral character of God, and renders the highest evidence of Christianity null and void.

Jesus Christ, however, declares, that he will, at the last day, say to the workers of iniquity, 'I never knew you!' What! never knew the men who were his only genuine ministers! Never knew the true shepherds and bishops of souls! Never knew the only men whom he empowered to give the true sacraments on which the salvation of his people depended! He must have known and acknowledged them, if he owned any of his flock; for the acceptance of the poor sheep depended upon the recognition of these as the true shepherds! It is of no avail to say, that the judge *will* not own the workers of iniquity *in that day*; for he will declare, 'I *never* knew you.' With all those who regard the word of Christ as firmer than the pillars of heaven, this sentence is quite enough to shiver to atoms the boasted chain of succession through monsters of iniquity, to grind it to powder and scatter it to the winds.

The creation of an order of priests between bishops and deacons, is another brand of infamy on the whole anti-christian confederacy. It is in the teeth of the epistle to the 'Hebrews,' and is without a shadow of support from the 'New Testament,' which knows no priests among Christians, (who are themselves a royal priesthood,) but Jesus Christ the apostle and high-priest of our profession, through whom we all equally draw nigh to God. If by priest, they mean nothing but presbyter, why do they not say so? Do

they not know, that priest is no real translation of the word *πρεσβυτερος*? By persisting in this false use of terms, they are practising an imposition on mankind. But the popish party lay claim to priestly orders, and most consistently pretend to offer the sacrifice of Christ over again, by which they identify the Lord's Supper with the mass, and deny that "Christ has by one offering for ever perfected them that are sanctified." The whole scheme that converts Christ's ministers into priests, is the most impudent imposture ever practised upon a credulous world.

The effrontery that would pretend to support these priestly claims by an appeal to Scripture, might provoke to wrath a 'Moses, the meekest man upon the face of the earth;' but the policy of those who fly from the sufficiency of the Scriptures to the necessity for tradition, betrays the fatal secret, that their party is dearer to them than the Bible. For what is this but the principle of infidelity? And what but a synagogue of Satan is that church which is not built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, 'Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone?' It is 'out of this church that there is no salvation.' When, therefore, we see the efforts of some men, whether apostolicals, or Puseyites, or jesuits, to draw men off from the foundation of prophets and apostles to traditions and fathers, our consolation lies in the hope of their failure. Many who listen to the perverting doctrine do not believe it; but go to the Scriptures alone, as if they had never been told that these alone cannot make them wise to salvation.

But no thanks to the men who would pervert souls, if they could; and when we reflect on the tendency of mankind to trust to rites and forms, and think of the declaration of Scripture, that 'the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;' and 'that in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature'—'the faith that worketh by love;' we are alarmed for many of those who are led away by such as cry up our apostolical church; they are likely to go into eternity with a lie in their right hand, trusting to a succession that is itself a lie; and, if it were true, has no power to save.

When we look back on the desolations of popery, and see how this master-piece of Satan has done the work of Apollyon, the Destroyer, we cannot read of its 'deadly wound being healed,' without feeling intensely interested in Puseyism. No sane man could suppose that, whatever some monks in their cloisters might do, the ordinary mass of mankind would see any material difference between Oxford Protestantism and that accommodating popery which is ready to offer itself for adoption at the present crisis.

We are glad, that, within the Establishment, some are attempting to oppose the abomination that maketh desolate; but they who would do this successfully, must go back to the better principles of those who were taught by the fires of Smithfield to hate the Man of Sin.

Art. V. 1. *Antiquitates Americanæ, sive Scriptores Septentrionales rerum Ante-Columbianarum in America.* Hafniæ, 4to. 1837.

2. *History of the United States, from the discovery of the American Continent.* By GEORGE BANCROFT. Third Edition. Boston: 1838.

IN these two Works, published in Copenhagen and Massachusetts, are discussed both sides of the curious, and not uninteresting questions, whether America was discovered by the Northmen before Columbus? and whether Christians formed settlements in the Western hemisphere in the Middle Ages?

The American historian seems to dispose of these questions somewhat too summarily in the negative; and although his work generally is written both with candour, and with an ability that fully justifies its success; and although it always places the subject of which it treats in a clear and striking light, there are grounds, on this particular point for doubting the correctness of the writer's judgment, as set forth in the following passage:

'The national pride of an Icelandic historian,' says Mr. Bancroft, 'has claimed for his ancestors the glory of having discovered the Western hemisphere. It is said that they passed from their own island to Greenland, and were driven by adverse winds from Greenland to the shores of Labrador; that the voyage was often repeated; that the coasts of America were extensively explored; and colonies established on the shores of Nova Scotia, or Newfoundland. It is even suggested that these early adventurers anchored near the harbor of Boston, or in the bays of New Jersey; and Danish antiquaries believe that Northmen entered the waters of Rhode Island, inscribed their adventures on the rocks of Taunton River, gave the name of Vinland to the south-east coasts of New England, and explored the inlets of our country as far as Carolina. But the story of the colonization of America by Northmen, rests on narratives, mythological in form, and obscure in meaning; ancient, yet not contemporary. The chief document is an interpolation in the history of Sturleson, whose zealous curiosity could hardly have neglected the discovery of a continent.*

* 'Antiquitates Americanæ, Hafniæ, 1837. The chief work. Schöning's ed. of Sturleson, i., 304—325. Thorfæus, Winlandia Antiqua. A de Hum-

The geographical details are too vague to sustain a conjecture; the accounts of the mild winter and fertile soil, are, on any modern hypothesis, fictitious or exaggerated; the description of the natives applies only to the Esquimaux, inhabitants of the hyperborean regions; the remark which should define the length of the shortest winter's day, has received interpretations, adapted to every latitude from New York to Cape Farewell; and Vinland has been sought in all directions, from Greenland and the St. Lawrence to Africa.† The nation of intrepid mariners, whose voyages extended beyond Iceland, and beyond Sicily, could easily have sailed from Greenland to Labrador; no clear historic evidence establishes the natural probability that they accomplished the passage.'—Bancroft, i., p. 5.

In dissenting from this conclusion, we desire to express a very high estimation of the work from which the extract is taken. The two published volumes of this Third Edition, of perhaps the ablest of the numerous histories of the United States, whether English * or American, reach only to the end of the 17th century. But if finished as begun, it will unquestionably be the most valuable of them all; and where so much has already been done so well, error upon a point hitherto obscure, does not call for severe criticisms. The accomplished American biographer of Columbus too has expressed the same opinion; or rather, having neglected to consult some sources of information upon it, Mr. Washington Irving fell into the not uncommon error of measuring probabilities by his own limited information. He accordingly substituted a well turned period for logical deductions, in support of his opinion, that no communication of Europeans with the Western continent, reasonably to be called colonization, had ever taken place before the days of Columbus.

'As far as authenticated history extends,' says he, 'nothing was known of terra firma, and the islands of the Western hemisphere, until their discovery towards the close of the 15th century. A wandering bark may occasionally have lost sight of the land-marks of the old continents, and been driven by tempests across the wilderness of waters, long before the invention of the compass, but *none ever returned to reveal the secrets of the ocean*; and though, from time to time, some document has floated to the old world, giving to its wondering inhabitants indications of land far beyond their watery horizon, yet *no one*

boldt, *Examen Critique*, ii., 124, &c. Of American writers, Wheaton's *Northmen*, 22—28; Belknap's *Amer. Biog.* i., 47—58; Moulton's *New York*, i., 113—125; Owing's *Columbus*, iii., 292—300; E. Everett, in *N. A. Review*, xlv., 161—203.

* *Antiq. Americanæ*, 289, 291, 296.

† The English press has within a few years produced two histories of the United States, of various and great merit, from the pens of the Rev. Howard Hinton, and the Grahames.

ventured to spread a sail, and seek that land, enveloped in mystery and peril. Or, if the legends of the Scandinavian voyagers be correct, and their mysterious Vinland were the coast of Labrador, or the shore of Newfoundland, they had but transient glimpses of the New World, leading to no permanent knowledge, and in a little time lost again to mankind.—Introduction to the Life and Voyages of Columbus.

It detracts nothing from the fame of Columbus, that so far from facts bearing out this statement, the daring navigators of the North, 500 years before his time, had not only sought the New World, but even colonized it; and not only did the adventurers soon return to reveal the secrets of the ocean, but intercourse was still occasionally kept up with the mysterious Vinland during three centuries after its discovery. These unquestionable facts seem indeed to raise our opinion of the searching understanding of Columbus. His inquiries into Northern and Western navigation before his own time, have been too lightly passed over by all his biographers. He certainly visited Iceland; and it is far from improbable that he was acquainted with the westward voyages from that country and from Greenland. Mr. Irving should have afforded us the advantage of his industry upon this topic. He is the less excusable as he professedly examines the subject of the voyages of the Northmen in the West; and Dr. Forster's History of those voyages was a book to be found in every good library. The Manuscripts now published in Copenhagen contain a most satisfactory confirmation of Forster's opinions, and do honor to his sagacity.

Crantz, the pious old historian of Greenland, had learnedly opened the way to a portion of the truth almost a century ago. 'The first discovery of North America,' says he, 'is ascribed to the Greenland-Norwegians; and this piece of history is too singular, and too little known to be passed over in silence. It is related at length by Mallet,* and Pontoppidan,† from Amgrim, Jonas, and Torfœus, and corroborated by the testimony of Adam Bremensis, who wrote about the time of the discovery.'‡ To which list he might have added the English writer, Ordericus Vitalis.

These hints seem to be most satisfactorily followed out in the Danish work before us, on American affairs in the times preceding Columbus, in which it is shown, that from the 10th to the 14th century, the coasts of the United States, Nova Scotia, and Labrador, were more or less known to Northern voyagers; and that they were for a long time scenes of missionary labors. The narratives

* Introduction à l'histoire de Daunensara, pp. 174—190.

† Nat. Hist. of Norway, pp. 423—433.

‡ The History of Greenland, from the German of David Krantz, i., p. 253.

now printed complete for the first time, are portions of manuscripts well known to have been preserved by Icelandic families, whose ancestors were the chroniclers of the controverted events in which their forefathers bore an active part. The genealogical tables of these people are not the least curious pages of the work. Thorwaldsen, the sculptor, Professor Finn Magnus, of Copenhagen, and several other individuals now filling eminent stations in Denmark and Iceland, are traced directly through four and twenty generations to Snorri Thorfinson, who was born in America in the 11th century. Assuming that this genealogy can be verified, it is our present purpose to offer to our readers a narrative of the most interesting circumstances which preceded and followed the birth of this first American-born white man.

It is an undisputed fact, that the colonies of Northmen were established in the middle ages in Greenland; and their decline forms one of the most surprising events in northern history, upon which light has been shed by late inquiries. In connexion with those colonies, an Icelfander, named Eric the red, emigrated in the spring of 986 to Greenland; and Bjarn, a son of one of his followers, then on a voyage to Norway, resolved on his return after the emigrants had sailed, to follow his father. Neither Bjarn nor his companions had made the Greenland voyage before; nevertheless they unhesitatingly agreed to risk the dangers of an unknown sea. After sailing many days to the west, they approached a coast differing entirely from that of Greenland, which had been described to them as remarkable for its icy mountains. This country was flat and covered with forests. Bjarn refused to land, as his ship did not want wood, nor water. Sailing thence to the North East, for three days, they discovered a large island, with a bold mountainous coast covered with ice. They did not land here; but taking advantage of the same wind, reached Greenland on the fourth day.

These discoveries excited much interest; and Leif, one of the sons of Eric, chief of the Greenland colony, soon made a new voyage in the same direction. Land to the Westward was speedily found, but rocky and without grass, and on the higher hills covered with ice. This country Leif called Hellaland, or the land with a rocky surface. The next coast made was flat and woody, with a sea board of soft and white sand; and it was called by the discoverers, Markland, or the land of forests. Sailing then to the South-west, they discovered an island which lay to the eastward of the mainland, and they entered a channel between this island and a promontory projection in an easterly and northerly direction. They sailed westward; and saw much ground left at ebb tide. Afterwards they went on shore in a place where a river, issuing from a lake, fell into the sea. They brought their ship into the river, and from thence into the lake,

where they cast anchor. Here they constructed some temporary log huts; and, when they had made up their minds to wait there, they built large houses, afterwards called Leif's-booths. A German, who was one of the party, one day brought in *wild grapes* from the woods, with which the ship's long boat was filled. They thus passed the winter; and returned to Greenland in the spring. This country they called Vinland, from the large quantity of grapes found wild there.

Soon afterwards, in 1002, Thorwald, a brother of Leif, made a more southerly voyage to the newly discovered country. After passing the winter in Vinland in fishing, this party made further discoveries to the south, on a coast thickly studded with islands. In another year, Thorwald sailed eastward, and then northward, past a remarkable headland enclosing a bay, and which was opposite another headland. They called it Kialarnes, (Keel-Cape). Sailing along the eastern coast into the nearest firths, they landed on a promontory covered with wood. Having selected an agreeable spot here for a settlement, they killed eight or nine of the natives in endeavouring to take them prisoners; and the leader of the party, Thorwald, lost his life in an attack made by the natives in revenge. He was buried on the spot, under a pile of stone, in the form of a cross, to signify his having the burial of a christian, as the Greenland colonists were at that time baptized. This party also returned immediately to Greenland.

In 1006, a more numerous emigration took place, under a brother-in-law of Leif and Thorwald. Women accompanied the party, and they carried with them all kinds of live stock, it being their intention to establish a colony if possible. They touched at all the spots first discovered; and proceeding still more southerly than Vinland, they arrived at the place, where a river falls into the sea from a lake. They steered into the lake, and called the place Hop. On the low grounds they found wild wheat, and on the heights vines. One morning they observed many canoes, which approached them on the friendly signals of white shields being exhibited; and the natives in them looked with astonishment on those they met there. These people were sallow-coloured and ill-looking, had ugly heads of hair, large eyes and broad cheeks, the present description of the Esquimaux. The emigrants erected their dwelling-houses a little above the bay, and spent the winter there. No snow fell, and the cattle found their food in the open fields. In the beginning of 1008, the natives came again to barter. They preferred red cloth, and gave furs and squirrel skins in exchange. They wished to buy swords and spears, but the leaders of the emigrants prohibited their people from selling them. In exchange for a skin entirely grey, the Skrellings, (the natives) took a piece of cloth of a span in breadth. Their barter was carried on in this way for some

time. The Northmen then found that their cloth was beginning to grow scarce, whereupon they cut it up in smaller pieces, not broader than a finger's breadth, yet the Skrellings gave as much for these smaller pieces as they did before for the larger ones, and even more. Milk soup was also tasted by them, and they preferred it in barter to anything else, and so "*carried away their bargains in their bellies.*"

Hostilities soon afterwards broke out between the natives and the emigrants; and the latter had much difficulty in defending themselves. Upon the return of the emigrants homewards, they touched at Markland, where meeting with five Skrellings, they caught two of them, boys, to teach them the Norse language, and to baptize them.

The *Skrellings* here spoken of are admitted to be Esquimaux; and their disappearance from these latitudes may be accounted for on the hypothesis that the Indians of our time, who have since been the inhabitants of the parts of America supposed to be Vinland, are a race of conquerors.

The countries thus visited by the Northmen, are conjectured to be Newfoundland (Hellaland); Nova Scotia (Nova Scotia); New England from Cape Sable to Cape Cod (Vinland); Cape Cod, (Kialarnes); Martha's Vineyard (Straumey); and Hope's bay (Hop).

The Danish editor of these chronicles, Professor Rafn, adds many details to prove, that the present character of the coasts selected as the scenes of these early voyages, corresponds with great exactness to the descriptions. The most plausible objection of Mr Bancroft seems to be that of the alleged mildness of the winter; but on this head two positive testimonies are adduced by the professor, which go far to substantiate the allegation. To voyagers from Greenland and Iceland, the *comparative* superiority of the coast of the American continent in any latitude south of Nova Scotia, will readily account for a more violent exaggeration than is to be found in the *Antiquitates Americanæ* on this point, and greater correctness of description than is exhibited in them is not usual in manuscripts of the period in question, but which are undoubtedly authentic.

But if all other coincidences are slender, the treatment of the *Aborigines* by these adventurers bears most marvellous signs of genuineness. The cruel disregard of the rights of humanity, and the fraud exemplified in the few instances noticed above in the early intercourse of Christians with heathens, were but precursors of the heart-breaking oppression exercised in later times by us towards the uncivilized races. The manuscripts from which these narratives are printed, and of which fac-similes are given in this volume, although not contemporaneous with the events, still are of so early a date, as to precede by many centuries, the un-

denied acts of the Spaniards, and other christians in the new world that could have furnished material for fiction or plagiarism. Nor is it correct to say, as Mr. Bancroft says, that these are merely *mythological* narratives. Be they true or false, they are accounts of alleged voyages to these western lands; and not of the character of those northern legends, which are familiar to the readers of Scandinavian mythology. In regard to the astronomical evidence, the Danish editor says,

‘ Besides the nautical and geographical statements, one of the ancient writings has preserved an astronomical notice, when it is said, that the days in Vinland were of more equal length than in Iceland or Greenland: thus on the shortest day the sun rose at half-past seven, and set at half-past four, making the shortest day nine hours, which gives for the place latitude $41^{\circ} . 21' . 10''$.; and corresponds with other data to give the same region.’

The region thus indicated is New England, the coasts of which, as shown in a map furnished with the Northmen's names of the places they now visited, are described with surprising exactness in these ancient manuscripts. Among them several geographical treatises of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are not the least curious.

‘ Along the coasts of Denmark, it is stated in one of these treatises, the ocean joins the Baltic. To the east of Denmark to the north of Norway. To the north of Norway is Finmark. There the coast extends to the north-east; and the east to Bjarmia. From Bjarmia the land runs north to Greenland. Beyond Greenland to the south lies Hellaland, and Markland; whence it is not distant to Vinland, which some think to be joined to Africa. England and Scotland form one island; but two kingdoms. Ireland is a large island. And Iceland, also an island, lies to the north of it. All these countries belong to the part of the world called Europe.’—*Antiq. Amer.* p. 289.

Gradually the western countries were lost sight of, one of the last notices of them being on the occasion of the voyage of a Bishop Eric, from Greenland thither, for a missionary object in the twelfth century. The infant settlement, probably, shared the premature fate of the Greenland colonies; and, for the same reason. The examples adduced of the ill-treatment of the aborigines are not only so far from being solitary cases, that they indicate the usual character of the intercourse of the Christians with them. In Greenland similar conduct is known to have excited against them the violent hostility of the Esquimaux, which doubtless contributed greatly to their ruin. Commercial monopolies were also fatal to the prosperity of the Greenland colonies;

and the *direct* course to Vinland from the western parts, was at that period beyond the power of the boldest sailor as then instructed in navigation.

But the unfortunate result is especially interesting, as a lesson to regulate the future conduct of civilised man with the uncivilised; and without undervaluing the other topics to be illustrated by such inquiries, it is most satisfactory in reference to the former subject to find, that the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries in Denmark, has resolved to pursue their investigations further, and to publish them in its annals and memoirs. In order to devise with success, how in our own and in after times, civilised society shall spread its genial influences over the ruder regions of the earth it is indispensable to survey with care many occasions of failure in the devastating progress of marauders and conquerors in past ages; and the extending labours of such societies as this, or of the similar institutions in Germany, France, and our own country, are signs of an excellent spirit.

Art. VI. *First, Second, and Third Reports of the Inspectors of Prisons; appointed under the Provisions of the 5 & 6 W. IV., c. 38, to Visit the different Prisons of Great Britain, and presented to Parliament pursuant to that Act. Ordered by Authority to be Printed. 1836, 1837, 1838.*—1. For the Home District. 2. For the Northern and Eastern Counties. 3. For the Southern and Western Counties. 4. For Scotland.

AMONG the various important subjects which now agitate the public mind of this great country, there is not one which more justly engages attention, nor is more certain to possess an enduring and increasing interest, than Prison Discipline. Upwards of half a century has elapsed since the strenuous exertions of the noble-minded but devoted Howard first aroused the attention of the legislature and the country to the disgraceful and shocking state of our prisons at that day,—and the high motives which urged him to persevere in his philanthropic and pious course, ought to animate every sincere Christian to an imitation of his example, till the objects of his glorious career are fully attained.

• The noble lines which conclude the inscription on the monument erected to his memory in St. Paul's, and which deserve to be remembered and circulated, enforce and illustrate this view. They were, we believe, the production of the late Mr. Whitbread.

‘He trod an open but unfrequented road to Immortality,
In the ardent and unintermitted exercise of Christian charity.
May this tribute to his Fame
Excite an emulation of his truly glorious achievements.’

In the Introduction to the useful work which contains the results of his meritorious labours, he says: 'he could not enjoy his ease and leisure in the neglect of an opportunity offered him by Providence of attempting the relief of the miserable.* From such motives of action, untainted with selfishness, eventual success to the cause of humanity necessarily followed; and though the devoted hero fell a victim to the discharge of his self-imposed duty, yet his name will remain to future ages encircled with a halo 'above all Greek, above all Roman fame,' and the reward promised to all such doers of the will of God, awaits him at the resurrection of the Just.

The work to which we have referred contains the results of Howard's laborious investigations. In order to acquire an adequate knowledge of the shocking and shameful state of the gaols at the middle of the last century, it is necessary to peruse his statements attentively;—but their general condition is probably known to most of our readers to have been as bad as possible, and a perfect disgrace to an enlightened country. The expression which had become proverbial, to 'rot in gaol,' was no merely figurative one, but was too literally true both in a *physical* and *moral* sense. Young or minor offenders, and the innocent unjustly accused, were completely contaminated and ruined by unavoidable and immediate intercourse with old and hardened criminals of the blackest dye,—while the noxious vapours of the gaols were the prolific causes of a constant and disgusting disease, which derived its name from the peculiar place of its origin. So late as the year 1750, at the Assizes in London, two judges, the lord mayor, one alderman, and others of inferior rank, were carried off in a manner by no means theretofore uncommon, viz. by the infection of the 'gaol fever.† The want of the most essential necessities to existence, water and air, forms a constant topic of complaint with Howard,—and the consequences of such a want are too obvious to need particularizing. Such a state of the gaols could only have been produced by the most perfect neglect on the part of those whose duty it was, or ought to have been, to inspect and visit them,—and one of the necessary consequences of such neglect, was the terrible irresponsibility of the gaolers, whose conduct was a perpetual alternation between bribery and extortion, corruption and oppression. The evil may be traced in the laudable but ineffectual attempts made by the legislature to remedy it,—‡ and in those publications which represent the manners and customs of the social state of their times, and are perhaps after all the best authorities on such subjects, viz. the Standard

* Fourth Edition, 1792.

† See Howard's Works, vol. i., sec. i.

‡ See the 32 G. II., c. 28, sect. 11 and 12.

Novels. The misconduct of gaolers, and the gross state of the gaols, is a constant and favorite topic for the powerful satire of Fielding.

The efforts of Howard were followed not many years after by the labors of the late Mr. Bentham. In his celebrated work entitled, 'Panopticon,' published in 1791, he makes some valuable suggestions on the subject of Prison Discipline; but his main object was to point out a mode of construction and management of prisons, by which a complete system of inspection might be established, viz. in the power of watching any of the prisoners at any moment unknown to themselves.* This suggestion, with some others, would no doubt, if acted upon, have been a great improvement in the then existing system (for hardly any thing could be worse than that); but the establishment of the modern improved plan of separation in cells is far more efficient and desirable. In some of his subsequent philosophical treatises on Punishment, Mr. Bentham also directed the attention of the country to this important subject. The public mind, however, seems to have slumbered many years. Meanwhile, our Transatlantic brethren began to arouse themselves on this vital topic,—and their efforts have produced one of those beneficial re-actions in Europe, which have already contributed, and will continue to contribute so materially to the advancing civilization of mankind. About the year 1790, the state of Pennsylvania tried the experiment of remodelling the prison at Philadelphia, and the attention of Europe was drawn to it by an interesting publication by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, in 1794. The principle adopted in this reformed prison (called the Walnut Street Prison) was that of solitary confinement, but *without labour*. The result of the want of the accompaniment of labour to solitude, which operates at once as a relief to the mind and an exercise to the body, was found at last to be most injurious; prisoners sickened, died, or too frequently became lunatic, under such a violation of the laws of our nature. It should never be forgotten that criminals are *men*. The failure of the Walnut Street Prison is clearly established to have arisen *solely* from the omission of labour. The attention of America having been thus drawn to the subject, the State of New York founded what has since become the celebrated *Auburn Prison*. At first the same principle was adopted as in Pennsylvania, and the same disastrous consequences ensued. Eventually, however, each prison adopted a different modification of the principle of separation; and they have become the respective models of two opposing systems which continue to divide the

* It is commonly supposed that the *Milbank Penitentiary* was built upon this view; but Mr. Bentham, we have strong reason to believe, never considered it as an effectual trial of his idea.

American states. The principle of the *Auburn* system is that of separation during night, and of common labour by the prisoners during the day; but with the *total prevention* (as far at least as is practicable) of *any intercourse between them*. They are not allowed to converse. Hence it has acquired the name of the 'Silent System.' On the other hand, the principle adopted in Philadelphia or Pennsylvania, is that of *complete* separation of the prisoners *from each other*, day and night, (*not solitary* confinement) but with the all important *addition of labour*. This has acquired the name of the 'Separate System.' We shall in a subsequent part of this article give our reasons for preferring the *latter* system,—but it would seem that though the other is gaining ground, yet that the *Auburn* is most popular at present in the United States. We are informed in the able Report on the Penitentiaries of America, made to the French government by Messrs. G. De Beaumont and A. De Tocqueville, that 'in spite of the weight which Pennsylvania threw into the balance, the *Auburn* system continued to obtain a preference,—Massachusetts, Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maine, and Vermont, have gradually adopted the *Auburn* plan, and have taken that prison as a model for those which they have erected.* And it appears also that 'the Annual Reports of the Boston Prison Discipline Society give a decided preference to the *Auburn* system.' On the other hand, it appears that intelligent Europeans are favorable to the *Separate* System. Dr. Julius, who was sent out by the Prussian government in 1834, on a similar mission to that of Messrs. Beaumont and De Tocqueville, returned a strong advocate for that system, although averse to it at his departure; and M. Duepéteaux, the Inspector General of the Prisons in Belgium, has made a similar report in its favour to the Belgian government. We feel little doubt that our American brethren will gradually change their views on this subject, and follow the system which receives the united testimony of the most enlightened minds in Europe. But to revert to England. Many years ago, the attention of the public mind here was again roused by the able publication of Mr. Fowell Buxton,† on 'Prison Discipline,' and the 'Notes of a Visit to the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England,' by Joseph John Gurney,‡ and chiefly by the unwearied exertions of a lady, whose energy, talents, philanthropy, and perseverance in her noble work, are beyond all praise. It is unnecessary to say that we refer to Mrs. Fry.§ In spite of the indifference of some, the hostility of others, and the contempt of many who ought to have known better, she continued

* Translation by Francis Lieber, published in Philadelphia, 1833.

† Published in 1818.

‡ Published in 1819.

§ This lady's visits to Newgate first became regular in 1816.

her truly Christian labors, and finally succeeded in drawing the public attention most strongly to the state of our prisons. We shall refer to the First Report of the Inspectors of the Home District, for a description of her meritorious exertions, which deserve all praise and remembrance. They say :

‘ For many years previous to the formation of the Ladies’ Association for the Improvement of Female Prisoners, Mrs. Fry devoted much of her valuable time to the moral and religious instruction of the depraved female inmates of this prison [Newgate], who at that time were in such a lamentable state of degradation and disorder that it was scarcely deemed an act of prudence for any visitor to enter the wards and yards allotted to them. At her suggestion, and by her exertions, a resident matron was appointed,—before this, the females were under the sole care of male turnkeys. This most judicious and important step greatly facilitated the gradual introduction of the improvements that followed, the happy effects of which soon become apparent in the altered conduct and manners of the prisoners. To assist Mrs. Fry in her exertions, the Ladies’ Association was formed, about twenty years ago. It is only due to these Ladies to say, that they have been the means of introducing much order and cleanliness,—that they have provided work for those who had before passed their time in total idleness,—that they have introduced much better regulations than had been heretofore observed for the government of the women on their passage to New South Wales. They have also, by the occasional presence, and by the disinterested efforts of the virtuous and pure of their own sex, restrained the dissolute manners and vicious language of these unhappy women, constraining them by the silent but powerful influence of their own virtuous example to the adoption of improved principles and conduct,—and above all, they have been the means of conveying both moral and religious instruction by their regular readings of the Holy Scriptures.’*

The persevering efforts of these ladies gradually directed the public mind to the subject of their labours. About the year 1818, the Prison Discipline Society was formed. The attention of the legislature was awakened, and the useful Act of 4 Geo. IV. c. 64, was passed in the year 1823. Some years afterwards, Mr. Crawford was sent out by the Government to America to inquire into the state of the American prisons. On his return he presented an able report, which excited considerable interest. The statute of 5 & 6 W. IV. c. 38, was then passed, by which the Secretary

* A most interesting and modest ‘Sketch’ of the origin and nature of the proceedings of this Ladies’ Association was published in 1832 by John and Arthur Arch, Cornhill. See also the concluding chapter of Mr. Gurney’s ‘Notes’ of his Northern Tour, before referred to, for an account of their successful operations, which are truly cheering and encouraging to every philanthropist.

of State was empowered to appoint a sufficient number of persons, not exceeding five, to visit and inspect* either singly or together, every gaol, bridewell, house of correction, penitentiary, or other prison or place for the confinement of prisoners in any part of Great Britain, and to examine any person holding any office in such gaol, &c., and to inspect all books and papers relating thereto, and to inquire into the matters touching the same. These inspectors were to make separate annual reports in writing, which were to be laid before parliament. Under the power thus vested in Lord John Russell, he appointed the five following gentlemen inspectors for the different districts of the country, viz. William Crawford, Esq., and the Rev. Whitworth Russell, for the Home District, i.e. the Metropolis, Middlesex, and adjoining Counties; Captain Williams, for the Northern and Eastern Counties; Dr. Bisset Hawkins, for the Southern and Western Counties; and Frederic Hill, Esq., for Scotland.

Each of the three last mentioned gentlemen has presented three separate Reports,—and the two first named have presented the same number of joint Reports, which have been laid before the House of Commons, and published with other parliamentary papers,—and contain matter of deep public interest. The grand object to which their labours tend is the establishment of a *uniform* system of Prison Discipline throughout the country,—but as yet they have of course been engaged solely in the essential preliminary task of *ascertaining* the existing state of our gaols, and arguing on the advantages of different plans from their respective experience. The information which they have obtained is of great value, and the subjects of investigation to which they direct the attention of parliament are of surpassing importance. We must certainly agree with those who hold that the efforts of Christian philanthropists should be strenuously directed towards the increased efficiency of every means adapted to the *prevention* of crime. Whatever is calculated to elevate the condition of the great masses of our people, by the spread of genuine religion, sound morality, and intellectual improvement among them, will find in us most warm supporters; but as it is an unhappy necessity of the condition of human nature in its present state, that ‘offences must needs come,’ we confess we hold it matter alike of deep public interest and of awful responsibility, how those offenders are treated. It is our imperative duty to offer every practicable means to our fallen brethren for their *reformation*,—it is no less our duty not to inflict any wanton, or

* The beneficial results in *Ireland* arising from the appointment of *Local Inspectors* are well put by Mr. Gurney in a letter addressed by him to the Lord Lieutenant, in the year 1828, and which contained a report of his visit through the Irish prisons, accompanied by Mrs. Fry.

excessive, or *vindictive* punishment upon them. They are *men* like ourselves,—creatures of the same God who has expressly declared that ‘Vengeance’ is His prerogative, with which it is His will that no human beings should presume to interfere. The Judaical system of punishment, founded on the principle of *retaliation*, ‘an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,’ was *expressly* abrogated by our Lord, when he laid down those principles of charity and kindness which should regulate our conduct towards each other, and which give even the abandoned criminal a claim upon our exertions in his behalf. The true and only justifiable objects of the punishment of an offender, are the security of society as effected in the *detering* of others from following his pernicious example, and the *reformation* of that offender himself, if possible. In the early stages of society, men have acted in imposing punishment upon a feeling of *revenge*, and have adopted sanguinary and cruel modes of inflicting it. This feeling has gradually given way before the softening influences of civilization,—but late indeed has the idea arisen of endeavouring to *benefit* and heal the criminal himself. Indeed, a great analogy may be observed in the conduct of men towards their fellow-creatures labouring under *moral* and *mental* diseases. The unhappy subjects of both have been considered as beyond the operation of measures of quiet and peaceful control, and kind and gentle treatment. The strait-waistcoat and the prison-bars, have been thought the only means in the power of society for its protection. But other measures are beginning to be adopted with success, and a profound study of the human mind has led to the suggestion of experiments in kindness and moral training which have been found quite available with *lunatics*. It is well observed, in a section on ‘the probability of reforming convicts generally,’ in an admirable Report on Convict Discipline in Van Dieman’s Land, by Mr. Maconachie, transmitted to Lord Glenelg by Sir John Franklin, the Lieutenant-Governor, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, April, 1838, that

‘Surely the tasks are not dissimilar of training weakness of *intellect* up to strength, and training weakness of *moral principle* also. And the same tenderness of feeling may surely be engaged in leading vice to virtue, as in conducting infancy, whether of years or intelligence, to manhood in either. If asked then, whether such a result may be expected of our penal treatment of criminals in the colonies, as is given of the Hanwell treatment of lunatics at home, I am prepared most confidently to reply that it will be whenever their treatment shall be modelled on similar principles, whenever the lights of true benevolence and moral science shall be brought to bear on both alike.’

We confess we cannot indulge much hope from any efforts to reclaim *very old and hardened offenders*,—but with the young and

the great bulk of criminals, we are satisfied much might be done, and that the most beneficial results to themselves and the community might be produced by a thorough system of penitentiary discipline, carried on with vigour throughout the land.

The Reports of the Inspectors too completely disclose the unhappy necessity for their own existence. It is no less surprising than lamentable to peruse the first reports, and discern such a negligent state of our gaols from one end of the kingdom to the other, especially, but with some admirable exceptions, in Scotland, and even in this very metropolis. So little check over the conduct of prisoners in Newgate, as that drunkenness and gambling should be frequent, and that persons of notoriously bad character should easily gain admission!* It is gratifying to find that since the first visits of the inspectors, improvements through the country have been made, and doubtless in consequence of their reports; but these amendments are at best partial and limited, and go a very little way indeed to rebut the conclusion irresistibly forced upon the mind of an impartial inquirer, of the imperious necessity for some *uniform system of thorough and efficient Prison Discipline throughout the realm*. It is to lay the ground-work for this valuable measure that the inspectors have been appointed; and as we conceive it to be of great importance that the public mind should be now directed to the questions connected with this subject prior to any *legislation*, we have drawn the attention of our readers thus strongly towards it. Our object is simply *truth*. We are not wedded to our opinions,—and certainly have no personal interests to serve by the advocacy of any particular views. We rather wish *to excite* inquiry and investigation, than to lay down principles and plans as fully established, and certainly we have no wish to prejudge the subject. We shall now proceed, under the influence of this feeling, although our own views may be urgently enforced, to examine the interesting questions raised by the reports of the inspectors.

The most prominent topic which justly occupies them, is an examination of the comparative merits of the 'Silent' and 'Separate' systems. It seems pretty well agreed among all

* The famous controversy between the House of Commons and Lord Denman, which excited so much attention at the time, and not having ripened to decision, yet remains a vexata quæstio of parliamentary law and privilege, viz. on the authority legally conferred by the House on their own officer, to publish with impunity injurious reflections on private individuals, arose from a statement in the First Report of the Home Inspectors, about Newgate. They found that a 'book published by Stockdale, of a most disgusting and indecent nature,' was in the possession of a prisoner without any attempt at concealment! Among the various controversies to which this statement has incidentally given rise, there has never been the slightest doubt alleged of its perfect accuracy. Surely, it was time to *inspect*!

philosophic inquirers into the subject, that *some* degree of separation among prisoners should take place. The evil against which Howard, and Bentham, Mr. Fowell Buxton, and Mrs. Fry, so strongly protested, of promiscuous communication between prisoners, tried and untried, and convicted of every variety of crime, is *admitted* to be such as that no remedy can be effected but by an utter abolition of the practice. The mind of the inquirer is then brought to a consideration of the *best means of separation*. On this vital and interesting question, enlightened men of both hemispheres are at issue; but the 'Separate' system seems the European, and the 'Silent,' the American favourite. We confess we agree with Mr. Hill, and Messrs. Crawford and Russell, that the former system is preferable by far. The two last named of these gentlemen, in their second and third Reports, enter into a most admirable, full, and searching investigation of the question, and their arguments appear to us perfectly convincing.

The first grand defect in the 'Silent' system which strikes the impartial observer, is *its failure* to effect its object. It is *impossible to prevent* communication. Men thrown together *will*, somehow or other, correspond. Accordingly, we find Messrs. Crawford and Russell report,

'That it is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the successful dexterity in fraud and artifice, in which this system has been the means of training prisoners; and if once it were to become fixed and general by authority, we do not hesitate to say that we defy the most vigilant and zealous superintendence to defeat the contrivances which the prisoners would employ to baffle it. Now, while the prisoner's mind is thus occupied with attempts to elude the vigilance of his monitor, (which from the very nature of the case must often prove successful,) or amused by secretly applauding the attempts of others, can it be believed that, under such circumstances, his mind can receive any salutary impression of the penal nature of his condition, or have inclination or opportunity for self-examination or reflection?'

—Second Report, p. 2.

The constant effort to produce even a near approach to non-communication, demands a degree of watchfulness on the part of the monitors and wardsmen so extremely irksome, that few will give it,—and when they do, the irritation produced in the minds of the prisoners against them is excessive, from the punishments inflicted in consequence of that vigilance. So strong is the desire of men to communicate, that we find from Messrs. Crawford and Russell's Report that, in the year 1836, the number of offences for 'talking and swearing' in the House of Correction Cold Bath Fields, averaged twelve per diem! They very justly observe upon this, that

Here are many punishments *super-imposed* upon that to which the prisoner was originally sentenced, who is thus oppressed by sufferings beyond the award of the law. The prisoner sees that the privations which occasion him most discomfort are not the punishments to which he has been *legally sentenced*;—hence arise, mental irritation, a sense of injustice, a forgetfulness of his offence, and an unconsciousness of his guilt, which effectually close every avenue by which admonition might reach his mind, and render hopeless and unavailing the efforts of the chaplain.'—p. 3.

And this evil, let it be remembered, falls with greatest weight upon the *untried*,—for as some time must necessarily elapse before the recently committed prisoner can be made acquainted with the regulations, the consequence is, that that portion of his confinement which *precedes* his trial is the *most irksome* and vexatious.

The intelligent inspectors then explain with equal force and distinctness the great difficulties which lie in the way of procuring proper monitors, who, under this system, are taken from the prisoners themselves. They proceed to show that the grand object of the legislature, viz. a *uniform system*, would fail of effect from the insuperable difficulties attending its execution, except in the great towns of the kingdom. They conclude their able exposition of the evils of this system by pointing out the pernicious consequences of what is termed *recognition* or acquaintanceship among the prisoners, and consider it under three aspects: 1st. As it affects an innocent man; 2ndly, As it affects a criminal who from a sense of guilt is led to penitence and resolutions of amendment; and 3rdly, As it affects a culprit who is determined to continue in his course of crime.

The consequences thus forcibly put by the inspectors appear to us so obviously injurious that we shall not trouble our readers with detailing them. The company of the tainted is not the best for those similarly diseased. If a prisoner is to be reformed, he must be *elevated*, and placed under other influences than those of his companions in guilt. The purification must come 'from above' him. The inspectors conclude, therefore, that

'The *Silent* system not only fails in attaining those important ends at which it professes to aim, but it is also open to grave and serious objections with reference to the means which it thus unsuccessfully employs. It fails in its attempt to prevent intercourse between the prisoners,—it is forced to inflict punishments, for the purpose of commanding obedience to its numerous and perplexing regulations,—these punishments are carried to an extent which its advocates do not attempt to justify,—it does not protect the prisoner from the evils of gaol association,—by the employment of prisoners as wardsmen and monitors, it in a great measure remits the prisoner's legal penalty, and affords admission to abuses and irregularities of a dangerous character,—its restrictions fall with excessive and undue severity upon the untried prisoner, who in reason and justice ought to be less rigorously dealt

with than the convicted offender,—it excites irritation of mind, and in many cases vindictiveness of spirit in the prisoners,—it is from the impossibility of rendering its operation equable and uniform, utterly unfit for general adoption,—it is complicated and cumbrous in its construction,—apt to be constantly deranged in its movements,—and requires for its efficient working, a degree of watchfulness and vigilance which is shown to be unattainable, even under the most favourable circumstances,—and finally, it does not even contemplate the adoption of any means by which the evils of recognition can be prevented.*

The inspectors then proceed to consider the advantages presented on the other hand by the '*Separate*' system. They first justly assert it as the *right* of an *untried* prisoner, (who has hitherto indeed been too little regarded in prison discipline, but whose position ought manifestly to be widely different from that of the *convicted*,) to be exempted from the society of those whose company is calculated to injure his morals, outrage his feelings, and debase his character. But not only is seclusion from his contaminated and contaminating associates a right which the *untried* prisoner is entitled himself to demand, but it is one which we contend the best interests of society are materially concerned in being exercised. The corruption which such a prisoner may have imbibed during his confinement, spreads its pestiferous influence all around him. He becomes the centre of a new circle of depravity. But possibly it may be thought by some persons to be a hardship on the prisoner, who ought at least to have an option. We agree with these gentlemen that he ought *not* to have such an option. If the interests of the individual and of society alike demand his seclusion, we hold that they justify its imposition. But we do not believe that when the species of confinement practised and contemplated is understood, any *innocent* prisoner would hesitate for one moment to *prefer* it to the company of guilty associates. Let it be always borne in mind, that the advocates for separation (at least the *judicious* ones) never intend by that term any *solitary confinement*, although we believe that much of the prejudice existing against that system is founded on such a misapprehension. Such an isolation would indeed be equally cruel and mischievous; it would not be *reformatory* punishment, but absolute torture, and would unquestionably display its mischievous futility in repeated instances of insanity. If, therefore, by the system of separation, were intended *perfect soli-*

* Miss Martineau, in the First volume of her late popular work, '*Western Travel*,' devotes a chapter to *Prisons*,—and in it, graphically displays the superiority of the *Separate* over the *Silent* system. She bears testimony to some of the evils stated above as existing in the Auburn prison in America; and with the narrative power which she is so well known to possess, details some affecting incidents which vividly show the efficacy of kindness and moral training under the *Separate* system.

tude, we should be the first to lift up our voice against it, but on the contrary, what is intended?

‘The prisoner is placed in an apartment, at least ten feet square, and ten feet high, sufficiently large to enable him to take exercise. This apartment is well lighted, ventilated, and warmed,—water is laid on,—and in the fitting up, every arrangement is adopted essential to the prisoner’s health. To this apartment the prisoner is strictly confined by day and night,—nor is he allowed to leave it at any time, except for the purpose of attending divine worship. This seclusion, however, is broken by daily and stated visits of the governor, chaplain, surgeon, and other prison officers. *The prisoner enjoys the privilege of seeing his friends,—he has every facility afforded him for consulting with his legal adviser,—he may send and receive letters,—he is permitted to have unobjectionable books,—he has the option of any employment that can be conveniently furnished to him,—he is exempted from all discipline that is calculated to create irritation,—he is tempted to commit no violation of prison rules,—he is exposed to no quarrels, and his mind cannot be tainted and demoralized by the relations of the burglar, nor his ears assailed by the language of the blasphemous and obscene.*’—Second Home Report, p. 11.

Such is the seclusion we recommend,—one, which it would be for the benefit of every *untried*, and would be the wish of every *innocent* prisoner, to enjoy. But now let us examine what are the advantages possessed by such a system as respects the *guilty*?

They are put with great feeling and force by the author of an article on the ‘Penitentiary System of Pennsylvania,’ in the ‘Encyclopædia Americana,’ and which is reprinted by him at the conclusion of his translation of the Report by Messrs. De Beaumont and De Tocqueville, to which we have before referred. Mr. Lieber says—

‘The greatest step we believe which a convict of the common sort can make towards reformation, is from thoughtlessness to thoughtfulness. Few of those committed to prisons are accustomed to think,—it is for want of thought that they become guilty. Surrounded, as they are in the Auburn system by a variety of objects during the day, they cannot feel the same inducement to reflection as under the pressure of constant solitude. It is difficult for a man, even accustomed from his youth to reflection, and to a mode of life which offers a great variety of objects and subjects, to entertain himself in long-continued solitude. He must occupy his mind with himself. The writer may be permitted to refer to his own experience, having been imprisoned for a considerable period during a time of political persecution,—and though he was not haunted by remorse, and had more resources from the habits of his past life than can fall to the lot of most of the inmates of prisons, he can testify to the power with which solitude forces a man to make himself the subject of his contemplation—a power which can hardly be realized by one who has not felt it. How strongly must it

operate on the common convict! Deprived of most of the resources of educated men,—constantly reminded of the cause which brought him into this situation,—undisturbed by any distracting objects,—enveloped in silence—he needs must *think*. This power of solitude was acknowledged by the wisest and best of antiquity, who retired from the walks of men to prepare themselves for great tasks by undisturbed contemplation.* The labour which the convict performs in his cell, and which is indispensably necessary, does not disturb him, because it soon loses the distracting power of novelty,—and though it will engage him sufficiently to prevent him from sinking into torpid sullenness (as experience shows) it does not interrupt his contemplations. When he has once begun to reflect, he must come to the conclusion that virtue is preferable to vice, and can tranquillize his troubled mind only by resolving on reformation,—he must at last seek comfort in the mercy of that Being who created him in his goodness, *and who will receive him, notwithstanding his guilt, if he is sincere in his repentance*. This will be the natural course of most prisoners in uninterrupted solitary confinement, judging from the observation we have made on convicts thus confined.'

And our Home inspectors, after adopting a similar line of remark, say—

'We are well aware that there are those who consider as wild and visionary any hopes which may be entertained of the reformation of a criminal. We trust that it is unnecessary for us to state that we do not concur in this opinion. We feel assured that in this country, little need be urged against a doctrine which regards the convict as an outcast, possessing no interests beyond the grave, and worthy of no more considerations than the beasts which perish. If, as we firmly believe, no human being, however guilty, is excluded from the means of repentance and the hope of mercy, we cannot too strongly condemn opinions which appear to us to be opposed to the spirit and precepts of that Divine Being who 'desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live.' We have had some experience of the character of criminals, and are persuaded that there are periods in the lives of even the most hardened, when the mind is awakened to reflection, and the heart overwhelmed with sorrow. In these seasons of sensibility, much may be done to eradicate the dominion of vice by the inculcation of Christian principles and the force of good impressions,—and it is the duty of a Christian government to present to every prisoner the means by which instruction may be imparted, and repentance cherished. In the quiet of the prison cell—and when humbled by correction—the warnings, promises, and consolations of the Gospel, come home to the conscience with redoubled force. *There is no feature in the Separate system which more favourably distinguishes it, than the facility which it affords to the minister of religion in the discharge of the various duties of his sacred office.*'—p. 14.

* The learned Author might also have referred to the example of our Lord himself.

To all those, therefore, who with us, look confidently to the *reformation* of the great majority of criminals and of almost all the young, this system presents such favourable opportunities for exerting the proper beneficial influences on a convict, that we must confess ourselves, warm, but not bigoted, advocates for its adoption. Mr. Hill, guiding himself by the experience afforded him in his inspection of Scotland, and, especially, by the admirable results of the separate system, produced at the Glasgow Bridewell, where it was established in 1824, and has been maintained ever since, concurs in strong approbation of it. In his 'Third Report,' he says—

'The continued experience of the separate system has *confirmed* my conviction of its reasonableness and efficacy; and I am *more and more* satisfied, that while, on the one hand, it prevents the danger and corruption arising from the associations of criminals, it is not, on the other hand, attended with gloomy depression of the mind or baneful effects on the health; and that it places the offender in that position in which there is the *best* opportunity for cultivating the higher feelings of his nature, and raising his ideas to new and superior objects. It has been supposed, that separation leads sometimes to insanity or idiocy; but, under good management, I am satisfied that it has no such effect. Certainly, no instance of the kind ever came to my knowledge; and the governor of the Glasgow Bridewell assures me, that there has not been a *single case* in that prison during the whole *twenty-five* years that it has been under his charge.'—p. 7.

Mr. Hill proceeds to detail a most striking proof of the *preference* even, bestowed upon it by the prisoners. He says—

'There are now five inmates of the Glasgow Bridewell, who are there *of their own free will*; some of them having asked permission to remain after the expiration of their sentences, and the others having petitioned to be admitted.'—p. 7.

Mr. Hill's comment appears to us to be extremely judicious.

It may be said, indeed, that this fact proves too much, for that a prison ought never to be made a place of *attraction*. It appears to me, however, that those who are willing to submit to the restrictions and labour of such a prison, must be in so destitute a state as to be *under strong temptations to crime*; and that it is, therefore, *fortunate when they consent* to give up their personal liberty for a time.'—p. 7.

Mr. Hill, adds—

'Highly, however, as I think of the plan of separation, I am strongly of opinion, that it should *always be accompanied with useful employment, instruction, opportunities of reading, frequent visits of officers, and daily exercise in the open air*. Not, however, that I think,

we should always wait until *all* these necessities can be obtained ; for so great are the evils of association among criminals, that, in my opinion, it is better to dispense with one or two of these desiderata than to allow such evils to continue.—p. 7.

While these three inspectors deriving their experience from the metropolis and its adjoining counties and from Scotland, concur in the propriety of the adoption of the 'separate' system, it is necessary to inform our readers that the other inspectors, viz., Captain Williams and Dr. Hawkins, seem rather inclined to favor the 'silent' system, and our desire for an impartial discussion of this important subject, instead of merely one-sided advocacy, induces us to place their arguments before our readers for their careful consideration. The first of these gentlemen says, that to

'Those unacquainted with the precision, regularity, and minuteness attained without difficulty under military discipline, the details of the system of 'silence' must naturally seem cumbrous and prolix ; while to myself, after some experience with the army, this does not at all appear to be the case. It must, however, be admitted to possess one superior quality among others—the placing men under trying circumstances where they are compelled to exercise and may acquire the valuable habit of *self-control*. At the same time, social duties are kept in view ; for it exacts respect to authority, order, cleanliness, decency at meals, and industry at labour. The silence, irksome as it may be, is, moreover, gratefully and beneficially mitigated by the consolations of religion and the lessons of instruction.'—*Third Report, Northern District*, p. 5, 6.

In reference to these remarks, we beg to observe that we do not deny the 'Silent' System to possess advantages, which would be much greater than they are, if it could be rendered *efficacious* to its professed object ; an assumption which is made in the extract just given, but which is contradicted by all *experience* hitherto. Nor can we admit the analogy which is drawn by Captain Williams, between the recruits of the army and the inmates of our prisons to be a correct one. The former are men in a state much more open to discipline than the latter ; and even if some be refractory, they are surrounded by unsympathising companions, whose professional habits and feelings lead them to discourage any attempts at the breach of discipline.

Dr. Hawkins in his 'Third Report,' has summed up what he conceives to be very strong objections to the Separate System,—viz.

- '1. The difficulty and expense of procuring suitable labour for the inmate of each cell.
- '2. The want of cells sufficiently large, light, and well ventilated in

many existing prisons, and the expense of fitting up and building such cells in new prisons.

‘3. The obstacles which the prisoners will have to encounter if suddenly seized with illness.

‘4. Since solitary or separate confinement is the most severe punishment hitherto annually resorted to, what further punishment remains in store for those who commit offences in their cells?

‘5. The daily visits of the surgeon and chaplain would require their number and salaries to be increased.

‘6. By some recent statutes, solitary or separate confinement is restricted even for offences of a deep dye to one month at a time, and to three months in the whole year. Are the first petty theft and the thrice-committed midnight burglary to be treated with the same rigour?’—p. 2.

The first of these objections we shall presently examine at large, when treating of the plan for labour strongly recommended by Mr. Hill.

The question of expense and construction, is one upon which that gentleman and the Home Inspectors furnish us with answers. Mr. Hill, in his ‘First Report,’ says,

‘One reason urged against the system of entire separation is the expense necessary for providing a separate cell for each prisoner; but, even this reason, I consider to be almost groundless, especially, if it be admitted, that the prisoners should sleep in separate cells at night. A small addition to the cost of a cell large enough for a prisoner to sleep in, is sufficient to make it large enough also for him to work in during the day, and to pass his whole time in it. To show how little the expense of a cell is increased by enlarging its dimensions I may refer to the new prison now erecting at Dundee. The architect prepared the plan according to the system by which the prisoners work together by day and sleep apart at night; and eight feet was considered sufficient height. One flat of cells has been built;—but I have ascertained that the height of the cell in the two remaining flats may be increased to nine feet nine inches at the *small total* expense of £100.’—p. 13.

The Home Inspectors have also appended several plans, framed after great consideration for the construction of prisons with separate cells at the end of their ‘Third Report.’

The fourth and last objections appears to us, we confess, founded on the fallacious assumption, that *separate* necessarily means *solitary* confinement. With all due submission to the learned inspector, we object to the advocates of the one system being confounded with those of the other. We have already given our reasons for our strong opposition to *solitude*, and our equally warm advocacy of *separation*. Separation from what and from whom? From bad company,—from their *fellow-prisoners*. The severe penalty awarded by the law is *solitary* imprisonment, which

it wisely *limits to short periods*. The confinement we want is *separate*, and which *might be perpetual*.

We have gone, at this great length, into the comparison of the 'Separate' and 'Silent' Systems, because that subject was justly thought of so much moment by the government, that they particularly directed the attention of the inspectors to it, and it, consequently, occupies a most prominent position in the late reports. It is *the* question agitated in prison discipline by our American brethren, and is unquestionably one of such importance as that it should be thoroughly sifted before *legislation* begins. The partial and short operation which either have had here; and the want among other desirable things of a good statistical arrangement in our prisons; deprive us of much opportunity of ascertaining thoroughly the *effects* of reform upon individual prisoners produced by them. We beg to call the attention of the inspectors, and of those members of parliament who are considering this subject, to the necessity of establishing some efficient *statistical* system, by which the *effects* of the operation of any plans adopted in our prisons may be completely ascertained, and the degree of reform really produced on individuals accurately tested. *Experience* must be after all our great guide and teacher.*

The next important subject which seems to us to suggest itself, is put forward by Mr. Hill, as one to which he evidently attaches great value; viz., *the employment of the prisoners in productive labour*. In his 'First Report' (which is a most able document and sums up with great clearness the chief existing evils of the Scottish system), Mr. Hill, says:—

'I hope and believe that there are but few honest families who are, at the same time, prudent and industrious, who are worse off than the

* Our desire for impartial discussion induces us to state, that Mrs. Fry is rather opposed to the universal operation of the 'Separate' System. By the kind permission of that lady, we are enabled to lay before our readers an extract of a letter transmitted by her to Paris, and published, we believe, in that city. 'I believe nothing so likely to conduce to the real improvement of principle and conduct in delinquents, and to render them fit for a return to society, as a limited number of them being regularly instructed and working together in small companies, under faithful, constant, and strict inspection, and at night always sleeping in separate cells. . . . If after the plan of being associated in small companies has been tried on any prisoner, he returns to undergo the penalty of a second condemnation, a more vigorous plan had better be adopted. I think they should then be confined *separately*, having instruction and employment and a certain number of visits daily from the officers of the prison, &c. We must add, that the 'Third Report' of the 'Home Inspectors' lately published, enforces at great length the arguments adduced above from their 'Second Report' in favour of the 'Separate' System. There is, also, an interesting sketch of the history of the improvements in our gaols; and, altogether, it is a document of great public interest and importance and well worthy perusal.

inmates of prisons; but, I think, there is no doubt but many who are deficient in either of these particulars, *but who, nevertheless, are free from crime*, are in every respect, except personal liberty in an *inferior* condition to that of many *prisoner, who are generally altogether released from the labour by which alone the poor and honest man can obtain the necessaries of life.*—p. 6.

Mr. Hill proposes to correct this anomaly. After stating, (p. 14) that he ‘believes there is no part of Scotland in which ‘productive labour could not readily be procured for prisoners, ‘especially, if there were one general system of management,’ he suggests, that all prisoners should be made to work. ‘Some ‘benefit’ he says, ‘would be obtained in a pecuniary point of view ‘(at Perth, the prisoners earn their food in this way); but the ‘*most important* advantage would consist in the *effect on the habits* ‘of the prisoner, and in the security the arrangement would afford ‘that *no prison should become an object of attraction.*’ Mr. Hill then assigns his reasons for preferring productive to unproductive labour, and we adopt his view of the subject. He says, ‘to ‘engage in the first is creditable to any one, but to be required ‘to perform the latter is *degrading, and is certain to produce a ‘mischievous effect on the feelings*; and whether a prisoner be ‘tried or untried, I would never subject him to it.’ In his ‘Second Report,’ Mr. Hill follows up the same view. ‘Industry ‘and economy should be leading features in the management of ‘every prison; and a great effort should be made to render them ‘*self-supporting*; but I have little doubt, that the prisoners may ‘eventually earn more than their cost, so as to afford an opportunity of introducing the *important principle of compensation for ‘injury.*’* In his ‘Third Report,’ Mr. Hill examines, at some length, the only objection which we think can plausibly be made to his suggestion, and it is one very likely to find many advocates; viz., that productive labour in the prisons would interfere with the labour of persons out of them. Mr. Hill (p. 9) grapples with the three different states of the market; firstly, the *natural* state, (*i. e.*) where there is a sufficient amount of profitable labour for all who choose to work. Here the work, if not done by prisoners, would probably *go undone*. Secondly, if trade be excessively brisk, then the work would be undone, and a greater extent of injury to society would be created than the mere amount of labour would ordinarily indicate. Thirdly, if trade were very dull, the direct benefit to society from the labour of prisoners would be trifling; and might be dispensed with in the same way as might

* This suggestion of compensation for injury, forms an interesting object for the mind of the intelligent philanthropist to contemplate in the moral vista of the subject; but is we fear, at present, rather too distant to be practically pursued.

the labour of any other moderate number of workmen. And Mr. Hill concludes, with the following pithy question. 'The great fault constantly found with criminals is, *idleness*. But if, by engaging in labour, they would have displaced other workers, why regret that they should have been unemployed? And why upbraid them with their laziness? *If their labour in prison will be mischievous, their labour out must have been equally so.*'

The remaining topics in the reports of the inspectors, to which we can alone devote space for reference, are connected with the prevention of crime and the care of prisoners after the termination of their confinement.

Captain Williams in his 'Third Report' suggests, that 'boys and girls without friends or ostensible means of livelihood should be sent upon their discharge from prison to the *poor-house*, and there kept until some means could be devised for their disposal. If the state was to assume the guardianship of destitute children, and was empowered to distribute them through the colonial possessions, either in the numerous government departments or as apprentices to individuals, it would be the most effective means of checking juvenile delinquency.' The view on which the first suggestion is made, seems to us better met by Mr. Hill's proposal for the foundation of 'National Schools of Refuge,' to which we shall presently refer. The second suggestion deserves attention, but it appears to us should rather be part of a well-organized scheme of emigration. The captain judiciously looks to the general extension of *infant schools* for the humbler 'classes as a most powerful prevention to juvenile delinquency.' With the following admirable remarks we fully concur.

'The first impressions on the mind are most important, frequently determining future happiness or misery. A very minute inquiry at Manchester and Liverpool has satisfied me of the surpassing value of thus inclining infancy to the acquisition of correct principles and habits, by the gentle, simple, and recreative methods followed in these institutions.'—p. 7.

Dr. Hawkins in his 'Third Report,' says, that

'We can only look forward with confidence to the following means as a steady check on the tendency to crime: first, a well-organized constabulary force, prompt in all places, not merely to seize offenders, but above all to prevent and anticipate the commission of offence; and, secondly, the extension of summary jurisdiction, and such other measures as may be tried in the case of lighter offences, either to obviate the necessity for imprisonment, or to shorten its duration; and, lastly, the creation of *new facilities* for affording the means of honest labour to discharged prisoners, and above all to acquitted ones.'—p. 4.

This last suggestion is one of the very deepest interest and importance, and requires the earnest reflection of every Christian

philanthropist. It should undergo thorough discussion before any means are adopted by the legislature on the subject. Mr. Hill states ('First Report,' p. 15) that 'there can be no doubt, that the neglect of parents in not teaching their children a trade or means of getting an honest livelihood (owing often to their own habits of crime or drunkenness) is a common cause of the child's depravity.' He proposes, therefore, that the prisoners should be taught some branch of trade or occupation by which they might earn their livelihood on quitting imprisonment. Still it is important to give more than this instruction. Mr. Hill states (and we entirely concur in his useful suggestion) that he thinks, 'great benefit would arise as well to the community at large as to the offender himself, if *an asylum** were opened on the principle of the refuges for the destitute, in which prisoners at the time of liberation who had not a sure prospect of leading an honest and respectable life if they returned to society at home, should be encouraged to enter, with a view to their receiving some little instruction in agricultural pursuits, and then going out to one of the colonies.' And in his 'Third Report,' the same intelligent gentleman says—

'In my former reports, I pointed out the great service which would be rendered by a national house of refuge in Scotland,—and I would again venture to submit this subject for consideration,—as, I believe, that by no system of prison discipline can the reform of offenders, of many, at least, be completed, unless there be a place to which they may go after leaving prison, when situations for them have not been obtained. If the locality were well-selected, and the management economic and efficient, such an establishment might I am satisfied be made nearly self-supporting. I would have neither bolts, bars, nor high walls,—no *compulsion* to remain,—on the contrary, the only terms on which an inmate should be allowed to stay would be peaceable demeanor and good conduct. And in order to prevent any possibility of creating a distinction in favour of a criminal, and to extend the advantages of the refuge as far as possible, I should strongly recommend that the place be open to *all who choose to enter*,—but that the regimen and quantity of labour required be such, that none will be likely to avail themselves of it, except those who from their forlorn condition, are in fact dangerous members of society, and likely to resort to crime as a means of subsistence.'—p. 9.

Mr. Hill concludes his admirable report, with remarks in which we perfectly coincide, and with which we shall terminate our comments on the reports of the inspectors. 'A yet wider field, however, as regards the prevention of crime, remains open

* Such a house of refuge was founded in New-York, in 1825, and the example has been followed in other states. See De Beaumont and De Torqueville's Report, Part III., c. i., for a full and interesting account of the principles on which such houses are conducted.

‘in the general and enlightened education of the people; in the removal of causes of poverty and disease; in the prevention of those sudden fluctuations of income which now expose the labouring man to the temptations of alternate penury and affluence,—and, lastly, in providing the people with constant opportunities of obtaining healthful recreation and innocent amusement.’

One topic of great importance connected with Prison Discipline, and to which the public mind has been much directed of late years, is the system of *transportation* used as a mode of punishment. Little doubt can exist among impartial inquirers as to the gross evils which for some considerable period past have pervaded, and still do pervade that system; but an intelligent inquirer, Dr. Lang, considers that those evils are not *necessarily* inherent in it. That gentleman, in a work of considerable talent and deserved reputation,* has pointed out with clearness and force the unwise, nay, we must take the liberty with him of saying, the absurd, regulations which have made transportation a boon rather than a terror; but those regulations form only a part of our colonial misgovernment of New South Wales. Dr. Lang, however, combats the position of the learned Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whately, who in his *Treatise on ‘Secondary Punishments,’* published a few years ago, endeavoured to show that the whole system of transportation might be usefully suspended. The first-named reverend author states five great causes (and he has the advantage of speaking from personal experience) of the failure of that system in the Australian Colonies:—namely, first, the want of a sufficiently numerous *free* emigrant population, which rendered it almost necessary at first, and has encouraged the plan ever since of placing the convicts or servants with the inhabitants of Sydney; second, the unlimited importation and consumption of ardent spirits; third, the gradual relaxation of penal discipline; fourth, the facilities for acquiring wealth and influence enjoyed by emancipated convicts;† and, fifth, the transportation of *educated* convicts. On each of these points Dr. Lang enlarges with a knowledge of the facts derived from personal experience,‡ and the warmth of just indignation at the evils produced alike to the colony and the mother country which might be naturally expected from his sacred function of minister of the gospel. But he does not confine himself merely to the description of evils—he suggests remedies, and points out a practical road for making transportation efficient to its end. He recommends the discontinuance of the *assignment*

* ‘Transportation and Colonization,’ 1837. Valpy.

† A few months ago there was an account in the newspapers of a man, formerly a convict, who died at Sydney worth upwards of half-a-million!

‡ The evidence lately given before the Transportation Committee seems to make his statements mild.

system, which he shows to be clearly practicable, if *free* labourers be imported into Australia in the manner now happily commenced, and which there is every reasonable certainty will continue. He demonstrates the practicability of employing transported convicts at government labour exclusively, without increasing the expense of transportation to the mother country; and points out the great advantages which might be derived from the wise employment of their labour in clearing ground, &c., for the formation of locations or settlements for free emigrants—in making and repairing roads, hedges, and other public works. The length to which our remarks have already extended will not permit us to criticise the work of Dr. Lang as thoroughly as the importance of the subject deserves. He says,* ‘by a uniform and steady adherence to the judicious maxim of Lord Bathurst;—viz., *‘strict discipline, regular labour of a severe description, and constant superintendence;—the following results might reasonably be anticipated,—first, there would be at least double the amount of labour performed by any given number of convicts; second, the cost of the police and judicial establishments of the colony, at present enormous and annually increasing, would be progressively diminished—as the enforcement of strict discipline would leave the convict comparatively few opportunities of committing fresh crimes; third, the demoralizing influence of convict principles and practice on the free population would be checked for the future, and, eventually, completely neutralized; and, fourth, the reformation of the convicts would be rapid and extensive.’ These are results most devoutly to be wished for! Transportation if it is to be used as a *punishment* must be surrounded with *terrors* instead of *gifts* to its objects. But we have not room to go at large into this subject, and, perhaps, it is even yet premature. A committee of the House of Commons (Sir William Molesworth in the chair), is now inquiring into it; and we shall look anxiously for their report.† Meanwhile, let us congratulate the friends of their race on the deep attention which the *reform* of our fallen brethren is receiving from the government and the legislature. The first step in the way of a thorough uniform system of Prison Discipline has been taken—the holy work has begun. Intelligent and permanent officers have been appointed to control the gaolers—to ‘keep the keepers’ in order—to check abuses heretofore too rife—and by watching carefully the results of experience, to put parliament in possession of the only safe and solid basis of legis-*

* c. 15, p. 207, 208.

† Since writing the above remarks, and very recently, the Committee have published their Report, of which, however, we cannot at present take the notice we could wish.

lation. Already from such husbandry valuable fruit has been gathered. The able Reports to which we have directed the attention of our readers, should be perused by every member of parliament and every Christian philanthropist. Whatever may be the differences of opinion arising upon them, they at any rate afford materials for a discussion of most important topics. The legislature has already begun to act. By a statute of the last Session, the 1 and 2 Vict. cap. 82., a prison for juvenile offenders was established at Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight, of which the preamble declares the object. 'Whereas, it may be of great public advantage, that a prison be provided, in which young offenders may be detained, and corrected, and may receive such instruction, and be subject to such discipline as shall appear *most conducive to their reformation*, and the repression of crime.' May this object be realized, and success attend this rational and benevolent effort! May the sincere christians of the land unite their efforts for the reformation of their fallen fellow-creatures, remembering that the unhappy circumstances of many of them have made them 'more sinned against than sinning,' and remembering, also, that the wisest and purest and loftiest of us all, are directed by our great Teacher to prostrate ourselves in the presence of our Almighty Father, for that we 'also are sinners!'

Art. VII. *An Analytical and Comparative View of all Religions now extant among Mankind; with their Internal Diversities of Creed and Profession.* By JOSIAH CONDER, author of 'the Modern Traveller,' &c., &c. London: Jackson and Walford.

WHEN the questions at issue between the Jews and early Christians were brought before the heathen Gallio, they were treated by him, without any apparent sense of indignity, as mere questions of *words and names*; and the most appropriate language which another magistrate could find to characterise these controversies to a visitor was 'certain questions of *private superstition and of one Jesus*.' We make no doubt that the feeling still prevailing in many minds, savours strongly of the contempt indicated by these expressions, and that any patient balancing of the respective defects or excellencies of different creeds, would be regarded by them as a task fit only for 'senseless, not to say, graceless zealots.'

Heartily do we wish that this contempt were altogether causeless; but there are, we fear, very few even among the serious portion of the community in whom an impression of disappoint-

ment will not follow the perusal of a work like the present. It will require actual inspection and examination to convince this class of readers, how extensively they may attain an acquaintance with '*systems of religion*' without meeting with any thing like '*religion itself*.' The poverty of language has indeed seldom been felt more painfully by our own mind, than in the two-fold usage which commonly obtains of this word. *Religion*, it is well known, stands sometimes for a '*system of religion*', sometimes for a '*principle of religion*'; and between these two meanings there should be, in reason, something resembling the connexion of *cause and effect*, or of *a means to an end*. A *system* of religion, to be worthy the name, should be at least conducive to the formation and maintenance of a '*principle of religion*,' and a system of Christian *doctrine* have a plain relation to the promotion of Christian *practice*. It is needless for us, however, to say how precarious and almost null this relationship often is. As a history of the church is as much a history of the progress of heresies as of the spread and triumph of truth, so is a view of the various forms of christianity, little more than a view of the various distortions and caricatures to which that holy religion has been subjected. It is little more than a view of the subtle attacks and corruptions which the genuine faith of the gospel has undergone. It is but too much an account of distinctions without differences, of the forms and ceremonies of religion exalted into its substance, of contentions for barren creeds and puerile observances, of the ever-varying phases of fanaticism and error. There is much in even the nomenclature of the numerous divisions of the christian world, which is sufficiently repulsive. We question whether the scholastic formalities of logic could furnish a much more wearisome collection of barbarisms than is exhibited by a catalogue of ecclesiastical sects. Nothing more would be necessary than to transcribe a column from the index of a volume like the present, or even to adduce a sample of the names which the author has collected in p. 593, to indicate what we intend.

Thus then for the various, so-called, *Christian* denominations. If from these we pass to the diversities of Pagan creed and profession, the startling difference which may subsist between *religion* and *a religion*, will become strikingly obvious. It is not extravagant to assert, that by any one who should aim to trace, in reference to a Pagan nation, the affinity of these apparent correlatives, their mutual distance would be found to be as great

'As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole.'

The sceptical historian of the '*Roman Empire in its Decline*,' has observed of the different systems of religion which existed previously to the Christian, that by one class they were re-

garded as equally *true*, by another as equally *false*, and by a third as equally *useful*. He might have added, that they were all *in reality* (and in this remark we may comprehend the varieties of *Modern Paganism*) *equally absurd* and *equally pernicious*. We apply these epithets advisedly without exception or reservation. The classical scholar will possibly be shocked at our temerity in thus denouncing the poetical mythology in which he has discovered so many beauties; but to any one who may be inclined to doubt the justness of the strictures, we would recommend the attentive study of the elegant compilation * of Mr. Keightley, himself a first-rate scholar, or of such a work as the *Fasti* of *Övid*, himself a first-rate classic. Let such a reader only notice the characters of the Deities introduced in the pages of these authors, the contradictory accounts given of their origin, the dubious relations they sustain to each other, the equivocal nature of their power, the clumsy legends explaining their often ambiguous names, the ridiculous tales of their adventures, together with their at once perplexing and amusing multiplicity, and then say, whether *absurdity* be an unfounded charge. For ourselves, we confess when we think of the manner in which all the laws of priority and sequence of evidence and probability are constantly confounded in these theologies, we feel it a mockery of the term system to apply it to them. Much more fitly, we think, are they imaged by Milton's gloomy void:

‘ ——— a dark

*Illimitable ocean, without bound,
Without dimension ; where length, breadth, and height,
And time and place are lost ; where eldest Night,
And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.’*

A writer who would voluntarily choose such a theme for the occupation of his time and talents must be supposed to have in view the instruction and information, rather than the gratification of his readers, and it would be wrong either to exact or expect from his pages the interest attaching to a selected portion of religious history. Arrangement excepted, the class of compositions to which the present must be considered as belonging, is that of cyclopædias or dictionaries, and by such a standard ought its value to be estimated. That its utility in this department will be appreciated by the public, may be inferred from the success of the numerous publications of similar character which have recently made their appearance. Some of our readers may recollect that about two years ago, a volume, entitled ‘the Book

* The Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy.

of the Denominations,' passed under our review. In noticing its merits, we had also occasion to notice and characterise, as well the earliest attempt of the kind, *Evans's Sketch of all Religions*, as two other similar publications by Adam and Williams. The present work, in its design and general purport, of course resembles its predecessors; but differs from them by being more comprehensive in the range it embraces, and we may add, more philosophical in its plan and spirit. In the following extract from the preface, the accomplished author has stated the general maxims by which he has been guided in its preparation.

'The most difficult, or at least the most delicate part of my task has been, to preserve that impartiality which may reasonably be looked for in an account of religious opinions, without affecting an irreligious neutrality, or compromising my own most sacred convictions of truth. To conceal my opinions would have been fruitless hypocrisy; and I can only hope, that I have not suffered them to betray me into any defect of candour or violation of charity. I have not attempted to treat of the Roman Catholic tenets in the character of a Romanist, or of Mohammedanism in that of a Mussulman; nor have I scrupled to speak of sects as sects, or of heresies as heresies. The Searcher of hearts knows, however, that my earnest desire and steady aim have been, to vindicate the catholicity of Christ's church—to harmonize the creed of its true members, rather than to exasperate our mutual dissensions—to show that the religious differences among Christians, chiefly arise from causes extrinsic to the common rule, and supreme arbiter of faith.—and to lead to the practical conclusion, that, as Christianity is demonstrably the only true religion, so no one need despair, with the Bible in his hand, of ascertaining for himself, under its various disguises, the genuine lineaments of *true Christianity*.'—pp. vi., vii.

In our opinion, the course which the author has adopted is essentially the correct one. In a publication like the present, impartiality is indeed unquestionably a quality of prime importance; but this does not require *that a favourable portrait should be drawn of every denomination*. A picture may be *faithful* without being *flattering*, and it is in *fidelity*, not in indiscriminate flattery, that true impartiality consists. It is not even essential to impartiality, that in a description of religious sectaries a *neutrality* of opinion should be observed, and that every remark which may be astringent of their errors should be scrupulously suppressed. It is indeed essential that their sentiments and practices, however erroneous, should not be wilfully *misrepresented*; but by no means that they should not be *exposed*. It is even the *duty*, we will add, of an author who undertakes to analyse the diversities of existing creeds and professions, to endeavour to qualify his readers to pronounce on their merits. As is the case with the historian, his work must sustain the complete character

of commentary and narration. He must consider himself responsible for the *impressions* as well as for the *facts* which he gives; must hold himself bound to exhibit every person or party he introduces, as far as possible, in the true light; and without being the *advocate of any*, be the *judge* of all.

If there be any class to whom such a bird's-eye view of the varieties of religious belief as the work before us is likely to be useful, it must be those who have not yet taken up their fixed theological position; who have not yet closed their minds against any modification of their tenets; whose opinions are not yet indurated into obstinacy, nor their partialities into prejudices. But how can these be profited by such a universal complaisant mode of representation as shall tend to confound their perceptions of difference, and leave the wilderness of conflicting opinion as intricate as they found it? We would yield to none in reprobating the unworthy trickery which, under pretext of making a '*book for all*,' should construct a *manifesto for a party*; but there is a difference between dishonest partizanship and tame indecision. The spirit of acrimony and animosity which so often infects writers on controversial subjects every one is right in complaining of; no one can be justly displeased with fair and temperate argument.

Our author, we are happy to say, seems to have thoroughly appreciated the force of these distinctions. Nowhere in his volume does the pen of a furious partizan appear; throughout, he maintains a tone of dignified candour, his impartiality at the same time not being suffered to degenerate into indifference. The distribution which he has made of the mass of materials before him, may be gathered from the headings of the different chapters, which we subjoin.

The first chapter is introductory, containing a discussion of the questions, What is Religion?—How many religions are there?—Which is the true religion?—Chapter II. is a comparative View of the Eastern and Western Churches.—Chapter III. On the Eastern Churches—IV. On the Russian Greek Church—V. The Latin Church, or the Papacy—VI. The Lutheran and Reformed (or Calvinian) Churches—VII. The Anglican and Scottish Churches—VIII. The Protestant Dissenters (with whom are classed the Methodists)—IX. Protestant Sects (comprising the Quakers, the Irvingites, &c.—X. Protestant Controversies—XI. Monotheistic Religions (under which head are included Judaism, Magianism, and Mahommedism), and XII. Polytheism and Pantheism.

From this brief summary of the contents of the volume, it will be perceived that no important branch of the subject has escaped the writer's observation, and we may fairly compliment him on the ability with which he has filled up the outline. The course of his previous pursuits, his known soundness of judgment and varied intelligence, peculiarly befitted him for such a task with facility

a d credit; and if the present volume does not greatly add to the literary reputation which he already enjoys, it will certainly fully sustain it. The views throughout are, as we have hinted, enlarged and philosophical; and in the parts which embody the writer's own comments, there is often visible much acute discrimination. The chapter, or rather section, with which we have ourselves been most pleased, is that on the doctrinal peculiarities of the Quakers; the cause, we believe, is, that this particular section contains more of original composition than others, and is less of a compilation.

We will recommend to careful perusal at this time, the whole of Chapter VII. containing our Author's analysis of the tenets and pretensions of the English Church. The more outrageous of these pretensions, after being for a time kept out of sight, seem again about to be revived in all their Anti-christian effrontery. The notions promulgated in high places of the Establishment, and even in some instances from evangelical pulpits, respecting the efficacy of sacraments, as showing the semi-papistical tone which the instructions of the church are assuming, are among the most alarming signs of the times. It will amply repay the reader's time and attention to review the notices of the controversy on this subject, as carried on within the limits of the United Kingdom, which he will find in this volume. The following extract from the Ecclesiastical Polity of the 'judicious Hooker' will show that in his expositions of vital truth, the above writer did not always merit that epithet.

'Sacraments,' says Hooker, 'are the powerful instruments of God to eternal life.' 'It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to show the use of the Holy Sacraments, assign unto them no end, but only to *teach* the mind by other senses that which the word of God doth teach by hearing. . . . They are heavenly ceremonies which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his church: first, as marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or saving grace of Christ unto all that are capable thereof; and, secondly, as means conditional, which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth grace. . . .

'For we take not baptism, nor the eucharist, for bare *resemblances* or memorials of things absent, neither for *naked signs* and testimonies assuring us of grace received before; but (as they are, indeed, and in verity), for means effectual, whereby God, when we take the sacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the sacraments represent or signify. . . . We receive Christ Jesus in baptism once, as the first beginner in the eucharist often, as being by continual degrees the finisher of our life. . . . Baptism is a sacrament which God hath instituted in his church, to the end that they which receive the same might thereby be incorporated into Christ; and so, through his most precious merit obtain, as well that saving grace of imputation which taketh away all former guiltiness, as, also, that

infused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost, which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition towards future newness of life. The grace which we have by the holy eucharist doth not begin, but continue life. No man, therefore, receiveth this sacrament before baptism, because no dead thing is capable of nourishment. . . . The bread and cup are (our Lord's) body and blood, because they are causes instrumental, upon the receipt whereof the *participation* of his body and blood ensueth.'—pp. 339—340.

We quote this language, because it is, we repeat, the identical doctrine which men of high standing in our *venerable* universities are now sedulously disseminating from the press as especially adapted '*for the times*,' which is circulating in numerous publications of equally *venerable societies*, and to which some even of the more enlightened clergy, in their horror of every thing which might betoken a proximity to Dissenters, are lending their countenance. *Its consonancy with the language of the ritual and dissonancy with the language of the articles* is an anomaly of which our author takes notice. He manifests, indeed, a benevolent care and diligence in bringing forward whatever can be plausibly alleged in mitigation of the glaring inconsistency, and, with this view, has opposed to the paragraphs of Hooker, equally decisive paragraphs from Burnet. We must be pardoned, however, for thinking that these quotations go rather on the principle of showing *how an innocuous meaning may be* attached to certain startling phraseology than of inquiring candidly *what the genuine meaning is*. The discrepancy of these two authorities, is only the consequence of the previous discrepancy which exists in the formularies to which both appeal, and which is itself again only the consequence of the discrepant materials which originally mingled in the constitution of the church to which both belonged. We scarcely know whether most to admire or compassionate, the learned pains with which many sturdy champions of this heterogeneous establishment labour and have laboured to attach to her the perfection of a doctrinal unity. Undoubtedly, it is natural, that they should desire to give a semblance of coherency to her teaching, but then, among the multitudinous elements which compose the body of her teachers, how to do this?

Uniformity there may be in her profession;—*and a large price has been paid for it*; and to the full credit of it her members are welcome; but surely to claim for her *real unity*, or any other unity than that of her external incorporation, must be the height either of simplicity or presumption.

It is truly remarked, by one of the boldest assertors of her claims, that 'in the English church may be found differences as great as those which separate it from Greece or Rome. Calvin-

'ism and Arminianism, latitudinarianism and orthodoxy, all these sometimes, simply such, and sometimes compounded together into numberless varieties of doctrine and school, and these not merely each upholding itself as true; but with few exceptions, denouncing all the rest as perilous:—such is its state even among its appointed ministers and teachers.*

There are one or two minor criticisms, which, in case of Mr. Conder's undertaking hereafter a revision of his volume, we respectfully submit to his consideration. In the first place, we are not prepared to subscribe to the perfect accuracy of the terminology which in some cases, he has adopted. If the use of *appellatives* be to *contradistinguish*, it is surely objectionable, specifically to appropriate the term 'Monotheistic' to such religions as Magianism and Mohammedism.

It has struck us further as a deficiency in the work that nowhere does it present us with a delineation of the *general outlines of the Christian system*.

The author professes, in his preface, to exhibit the '*generic divisions*' of the religious world; but as if forgetting this, or presuming on the reader's ability to supply the omission for himself, after determining by a few brief positions in the introductory chapter the religion of Christ to be the true one, he immediately launches on the jarring ocean of sects and schisms. Why not first make an attempt to sketch the leading features of the only religion deserving the name, of that perfect revelation which can boast of its fruits, 'Glory to God in the highest on earth peace, and good-will to men;' and which is indeed a 'divine philosophy.'

Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns.

We regret the omission the more, because, by it, the author has lost his only opportunity of relieving the dreariness of the scenery which his volume, though with no fault we are sure of his, places before the eye.

The most serious fault, however, which has impressed our minds in the examination of the volume has been the modified tone of condemnation in which Mohammedanism is occasionally spoken of. This is, sometimes, such as would almost lead us to class it with those heresies, which, though demonstrating the perversity of unaided reason, are yet not fundamentally fatal. Not only is it asserted to be less anti-christian than Judaism; but it is

* Newman, 'on Romanism and Popular Protestantism.'

even compared advantageously with the Unitarian creed. The latter class of religionists are, indeed, taught that the religion of the Arabian impostor bears a close similarity to their's, and in one passage borrowed from a writer, who with all his excellencies is often misled by a fondness for '*the striking*' in style, a portion of our admiration and gratitude is even challenged for the author of Islamism.

'Let the Arabian prophet be called heresiarch and impostor; yes, but a reformer too. He kindled from side to side of the Christian world, an extraordinary abhorrence of idol worship, and actually cleansed the plain of Asia from the long-settled impurities of polytheism. Did he overthrow christianity in Syria, in Africa, in Spain? No; superstition only, for christianity had died away from those countries long before. A respect for man, for nature, for God—a respect not characteristic of the frenzied zealot,—was shown in the injunction so strictly laid on the Moslem armies, not to destroy the fruits of the earth, not to disturb the labor of the husbandman, not to cut down the palm or the olive, not to poison or stop the wells, to spare the old and the young, the mother and her babes, and in a word, to abridge war, as far as might be done, of its horrors. In reading these military orders, and in following the march of Khalifs who received them, it is impossible to exclude from the mind the recollection of wars waged by Christian, most Christian kings, not against distant and equal foes, but on their own unoffending and helpless subjects; wars which left nothing behind them but smoking ruins and a bloodsodden wilderness. Call Mohammed, fanatic or impostor; but language wants a term—or, if it might afford one, the rule of Christian propriety forbids it to be used—which should fitly designate the Philips, the Ferdinands, the Louises of our modern European history.'—p. 623.

Now without attempting the vindication of the personages with whom Mohammed is thus brought into contrast, we cannot but deem it a singular zeal which would represent us as under religious obligations to the latter. The accidental benefit which resulted from his successful proselytism is of no value whatever *as an element in the estimation of his character*, and can give him no right to rank as a 'reformer.' With equal reason, otherwise, might our eighth Henry claim to be venerated, as such. As far as the personal merits of Mohammed are concerned, the question is, what was his *motive* for his denunciation of the existing idolatry,—whether zeal for divine honour or for his own individual aggrandisement, and whether while he confessedly unmasked deception, he was not himself *a wilful deceiver*? Nor can we consent, in estimating the merits of his religion, to leave out of the calculation the positive doctrines which it promulges. No rejection of Romish errors can palliate or render innoxious his own audacious blasphemies. As for the fact that his religion was, in a

sense, a modification simply of the Christian system, we see in this only the evidence of his more atrocious presumption. It is Judas betraying Christ with a kiss. We can, ourselves, conceive of no greater insult offered by a heretic to the Gospel than his knowingly and deliberately mixing up his own unhallowed speculations with its pure and heavenly doctrines.

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- Art. VIII. 1. *Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap-Book for 1839.* With Poetical Illustrations by L. E. L. London: Fisher & Co.
2. *Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor, &c., illustrated.* In a Series of Views drawn from Nature by W. H. BARTLETT, THOMAS ALLOM, &c. With descriptions of the Plates by JOHN CARNE, Esq. Third. London: Fisher and Co.
3. *Fisher's Juvenile Scrap-Book.* By AGNES STRICKLAND and BERNARD BARTON. 1839. London: Fisher and Co.
4. *Jennings's Landscape Annual for 1839; or, the Tourist in Portugal.* By W. H. HARRISON. Illustrated with Paintings by JAMES HOLLAND. London: R. Jennings.
5. *The Oriental Annual; containing a Series of Tales, Legends, and Historical Romances.* By THOMAS BACON, Esq., F.S.A. With Engravings by W. and E. FINDEN, from Sketches by the Author. London: Charles Tilt.
6. *The Keepsake for 1839.* Edited by FREDERIC MANSELL REYNOLDS. London: Longman and Co.

THE appearance of these beautiful volumes always disposes us to moralize on the flight of time. Presenting themselves to our notice at the close of the year, they remind us that stern winter is again approaching; that another spring and summer, with all their hopes and joyousness, have been dissociated from the future and are united to the past; that we stand nearer to the grave, and possess a briefer interest in what is 'seen and temporal,' than when their gay predecessors claimed our attention, and beguiled us from other and severer pursuits. These are thoughts we love to cherish. They come with no saddening influence on our spirits, but infuse an element of purity and greatness into the heart of man, which no earthly success can minister. Proceed onward we must. It is our destiny, and should be our joy. So far from shrinking from its contemplation, it is the part of wisdom to realize the fact, and daily to cherish the emotions it is adapted to enkindle. But the crowded state of our pages warns us against pursuing these reflections, and compels us to restrict ourselves to our critical province.

We shall briefly notice, in the order in which they have come

to hand, the volumes at the head of our Article, simply premising that our remarks will be few, and our extracts sparing. Works of permanent value, claim a more extended notice than our space permits, and we must not therefore devote what is due to them to volumes, the interest of which, however beautiful they may be, is necessarily limited and transient.

Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap-Book, has been a favorite with the public for several years, and the style in which it makes its appearance for 1839 will increase rather than otherwise its reputation. Miss Landon announces in her Preface, that it will probably be the last volume of the series she will edit, as she is about to leave England for an indefinite period. The character of the publication differs from that of most of its rivals, containing nearly treble the number of highly-finished plates given in other Annuals, and combining within itself the varieties by which they are severally distinguished. The Engravings are selected from the many expensive Works published by the Messrs. Fisher, and the poetical illustrations are, with few exceptions, furnished by the fair editor. 'For the last few years,' she informs us, 'the *Drawing-Room Scrap-Book* has been the cherished record of my poetical impressions, and my only poetical work; and I grew gradually to look forward to June and July, as recalling my first keen delight in composition, and giving words to those fancies and feelings which constitute especially a woman's poetry.' As a collection of Engravings, executed for the most part with considerable ability, and illustrated by poetry, whose even tenor pleases, though it cannot delight, this volume is well entitled to the favor it has obtained. As an ornament to the drawing-room, it is without a rival. The following verses, by Bernard Barton, are in happy unison with the general character of the work.

‘THE FLOWER GARDEN.

‘This world is a valley of tears, we are told,
 But it is not all sorrow and gloom;
 For nature delights brighter truths to unfold
 By her song-birds, and flow'rets in bloom.
 ‘Would'st thou learn, then, the lore her glad lessons impart,
 At morning, or evening's hours,
 With love, hope, and gratitude shrined in thy heart,
 Go, and muse in a garden of flowers!
 ‘Oh! there may'st thou see how the Being who planned
 The Universe first by His skill!
 Whose fiat divided the sea from the land,
 In His works is all wonderful still.
 ‘Not alone in this *greatest!* the word of his power,
 Which fashioned earth, ocean, and sky,
 Is shown in the exquisite form of each flower,
 And the tints which enrapture the eye.

' Ay, look on the Lilies ! they toil not, nor spin,
Yet earth's proudest monarch, arrayed
In the utmost of pomp that ambition can win,
Their beauty and grace might upbraid.

' Or turn to the Rose, and the Jasmine's bright stars,
If thy heart would true loveliness know ;
Their splendour no lurking deformity mars,
As in lustre unsullied they glow.'

The second volume in our list is a work of a vastly different character from the preceding, and much more to our mind. It contains a series of splendid Engravings illustrative of the scenery of *Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor, &c.*, and has been got up at an immense cost. With an enterprising spirit, which merits most liberal support, the Messrs. Fisher have sent out artists of acknowledged ability for the express purpose of taking accurate views of the most interesting places and objects in a land which teems with absorbing and solemn associations. From the views thus taken, the plates included in this volume have been executed; and there is, consequently, a freshness and individuality, a picturesque and graphic character in them which greatly enhances their value. We see the persons and places depicted, the habits of the people, the grandeur of their ruins, the splendor of their architecture, their gorgeous temples, the forms of their superstition and the unrivalled richness of their scenery. The book teems with life, and speaks with a voice to which it is instructive to listen. The illustrative matter has been furnished by Mr. Carne, whose competence is proved by his 'Letters from the East.' We greatly regret our inability to quote from it, but should be doing injustice to ourselves, as well as to the Messrs. Fisher, if we did not strongly recommend our readers to indulge themselves with an attentive and continuous perusal of the book. It will amply repay for the labor,—indeed, the style is so pleasing, and the materials are so rich, that its perusal will be one continuous gratification. The only regret which a reflecting mind can experience will be felt at the termination of its labors.

Fisher's Juvenile Scrap-Book is sure of a hearty welcome from the younger members of our families. It contains several tales and descriptive pieces, interspersed with poetical stanzas, well fitted to engage the attention and to minister to the gratification of young readers. We should have been better pleased, if two of the pieces had not been made to insinuate false views of the character and principles of the men who opposed the tyranny of Charles the First. English literature has too long been poisoned in this way, and we regret to see the evil perpetuated in the fascinating volume before us. The impression made on juvenile

readers by the the two tales of 'The Royal Captives' and 'Aunt Eleanour's True Story,' is the reverse of what historical fidelity requires. With this exception the volume has our entire approval. The literary department has been prepared 'with peculiar reference to the important object of uniting information 'with amusement and moral instruction;' and its decorations are in a style of improved elegance and neatness. We need not say more to recommend it to our readers.

The present is the tenth volume of *Jennings's Landscape Annual*, and is so closely connected with the former volumes of the series as to be sure of meeting with a warm reception from the purchasers of them. Its immediate predecessor was devoted to Spain, from which the transition is easy to Portugal, the subject of the present volume. The plates, eighteen in number, are from paintings taken on the spot, by Mr. Holland, who has succeeded very happily in the selection of his ground, and the artistic arrangement of his subjects. The views of Oporto and Coimbra are excellent, uniting in a much greater degree than is usual, the distinctness of individual objects with the harmony and general completeness of the scene. The architectural magnificence of the monastery of Batalha, which still retains much of its original beauty, forms the subject of six engravings, two of which are devoted to the splendid mausoleums of Don John and Don Emanuel.

Mr. Harrison, the Author of 'Tales of a Physician,' has supplied the literary portion of the volume, and the ample materials at his command have enabled him to throw considerable light on the history, antiquities, literature, superstitions, and manners of Portugal. Legendary tales have been worked up with other and more veritable narratives, while the bounds of sober history have been marked by the old English character employed to introduce these fictions. 'Thus, it is hoped,' remarks the Editor, 'that while offering attractions to the lovers of light literature, the volume will possess somewhat of the permanent value of a standard work.' The following sketch of the life of Camoens, the great poet of Portugal, will be read with melancholy interest.

'Luis de Camoens, the poet, par excellence, of Portugal; for the honor of giving birth to whom, as in the instance of Homer, several towns contend. Lisbon, however, is supposed to have the just title to that distinction, while Coimbra has the honor of numbering him among her students. He was the son of Simon de Camoens, the master of a trading-vessel, in which he was cast away, and, with the greater portion of his fortune, was lost. With the genius of poetry, he appears to have possessed no ordinary share of its romance. His handsome person, good humor, and accomplishments, gave him a passport to the best society in Lisbon; where it was the custom, as in Spain and other

countries, for the youth to indulge their mistresses with nocturnal serenades. Camoens suffered severely for following the fashion; for having been detected in paying his devoirs in this manner to a lady of high rank, her relations took the matter so much in dudgeon, that he received an order on the following morning to quit Lisbon; and from this circumstance the misfortunes of this hapless son of genius may be dated.

Thus banished, he sought an asylum among his mother's family at Santarem; where, resuming his studies, he first conceived the idea of writing a poem on the discovery of India by Vasco de Gama. He seems soon to have grown weary of a life of inaction, and accordingly, embracing the profession of arms, embarked with a body of troops for Africa, then the seat of war. The vessel in which he proceeded thither was attacked by a Moorish galley of greatly superior force; but after a most desperate battle, in which the poet signalised himself by deeds of the most daring valor, the Crescent yielded to the Cross, and Camoens, with the loss of an eye sustained in the engagement, landed in Africa, where he gave additional proofs of his courage and prowess. It is said of him, that he had no sooner sheathed his sword after a victory, than he took up the pen to celebrate the deeds of his companions in arms, but forgot his own. His valor, however, met with no better reward from his superior officers than permission to return to Lisbon; the reason assigned for their neglect of his services being a fear of giving offence to his enemies in that city by promoting him to higher honors. He spent some time in fruitless endeavours to obtain a reward for his services from the court of Lisbon; and at last, bankrupt in patience as well as in pecuniary resources, he embarked, a voluntary exile for India, 1553, and, as it appears, with a determination never to return, for on leaving the Tagus he was heard to exclaim, *Ingrata patria, non possidebis ossa mea!*

Having joined the Portuguese army in India as a gentleman volunteer, he served in many expeditions against the native princes, and was subsequently employed in a diplomatic character; and, after having in this capacity visited many parts of India and China, he was appointed to some office in Macao, where, in comparative ease, he composed the greater part of his *Lusiad*. He was shipwrecked on his return from Macao, on the Malabar coast, where he swam ashore, holding his poem in one hand, having abandoned all he possessed besides, as worthless in comparison with it.

After sixteen years' hard service and exposure to an Eastern sun, he returned to Lisbon, where he published the *Lusiad*; when Sebastian, being pleased with the commencing lines addressed to himself, granted him a pension of fifteen pounds, a pittance which, however, he did not long enjoy; for his patron having been shortly afterwards killed in battle, his successor, Henry, to his everlasting dishonor, withdrew the stipend. Fulfilling the destiny almost inseparable from the poetical character, Camoens, literally a beggar, worn down by hard service, wounds, and the heavier oppression of a grieved and mortified spirit, took refuge in an almshouse, where he was sustained by the pittance

begged for him by an old and faithful servant in the streets of Lisbon,—the city which afterwards contended for the honor of giving birth to the man she had abandoned to the cold charity of the world! In this state of misery he died, at the age of sixty-two, in the year 1579.'

—p. 127.

The Oriental Annual has undergone an entire change this year. Its literary contents are furnished by Lieutenant Bacon, whose 'First Impressions and Studies from Nature in Hindostan,' were favorably noticed in the *Eclectic Review* at the time of their appearance.* His style in the present volume is light, cheerful, and occasionally picturesque, calling up and presenting to the imagination of his readers the grotesque and diversified forms of Indian manners and superstitions. The Engravings, taken from drawings of the most eminent artists, after sketches by the Editor, are eighteen in number, and are, many of them, deeply interesting and beautiful. 'The Peak of Teneriffe,' engraved by R. Wallis; 'Sahadut Ali's Palace,' by E. Finden; 'The Temple of Genesa,' at Benares, with its barbaric and thoroughly oriental sculpture, and the two views of Hurdwar, are among our chief favorites.

The Keepsake has come to hand just in time to be noticed, but not soon enough to allow of any attempt at a critical analysis of its contents. It is got up in its usual style of elegance, and consists of light tales, and poetry of ordinary merit. The Editor has returned this year to his former practice of announcing the names of his aristocratic contributors. This was omitted last year, when we ventured to express our doubt of the success of the experiment. The re-appearance of the list may fairly be taken as proof of the correctness of our prophecy. The Marquis of Granby, Lord Jocelyn, the Marchioness of Londonderry, Lord Viscount Maidstone, Lord Manners, Lord Nugent, the Lady Nugent, the Countess Blessington, and the Lady E. Stuart Wortley, are included in the distinguished list. The Engravings, some of which are executed with great spirit, are mostly fancy scenes destitute of historical interest; and the tales which accompany them, are told in a light, airy, and tasteful style. 'Euphrasia,' 'a Tale of Greece,' by Mrs. Shelley, displays deeper pathos and greater power than most of its companions.

* *New Series*, i., 477.

Brief Notices.

The Pictorial Bible ; being the Old and New Testaments according to the Authorized Version. Illustrated with many hundred Wood-cuts, representing the Historical Events, the Landscape Scenes, and the subjects of Natural History, Costume, and Antiquities from the best sources. To which are added, Original Notes, &c., &c. Vol. III. Imp. 8vo. London: Charles Knight.

The concluding volume of one of the best books which has been issued from the English press for many years past. We say this advisedly, and after a careful examination of the Work. It is just such a publication as was needed,—one which combines to a far greater degree than any other, the results of Eastern travels, and of European scholarship. No pains have been spared to render the work complete, and the effort is eminently successful. The wood-cuts are innumerable, and for the most part admirably illustrative of the text. If any are to be excepted we should name those which pertain to historical events, after pictures by the most celebrated masters. Some of these might have been dispensed with, but their insertion is proof of the determination of the publishers to spare no cost in perfecting their work. The Notes are as valuable as they are numerous, and leave little to be desired. Avoiding all doctrinal disquisitions, they are strictly devoted to the history, geography, natural history, and antiquities of the Sacred volume. The publication is consequently free from every tinge of sectarianism, and must prove equally acceptable to all denominations of Christians. We merely discharge our duty to the readers of the *Eclectic* in emphatically recommending them to possess themselves of a copy of the work. Every Christian parent should place it within the reach of his household.

Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners in the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, and James I., exhibited in a Series of Original Papers, selected from the MSS. of the Noble Families of Howard, Talbot, and Cecil ; containing, among a variety of interesting pieces, a great part of the Correspondence of Elizabeth and her Ministers, with George, Sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, during the Fifteen Years in which Mary, Queen of Scots, remained in his Custody. With Notes and Observations. By Edmund Lodge, Esq., K. H., &c., Second Edition, with additions, revised and corrected. 3 vols. 8vo. London: J. Chidley, 1838.

A new and improved edition of a valuable work, from which the future historians of our country will derive numerous illustrations of the manners, state of parties, and political contentions which distinguished the times of our fathers. The work has been before the public for some years, and its general character is too well known to require comment or explanation. The papers of which it consists throw considerable light on some of the most interesting facts of

English history, and are illustrated by notes, the materials for which have been chiefly collected in the College of Arms, with which the editor is officially connected. In the present edition the orthography is modernised,—a great improvement, in our judgment, notwithstanding the anathema which will be pronounced by some sturdy antiquarians. A catalogue of unpublished papers in the 'Talbot Collection,' extending to 167 pages is also added, and other minor alterations tending to the improvement of the work are introduced. The volumes are indispensable to a historical library, and the public are greatly indebted to Mr. Chidley, for the opportunity of obtaining them in their present improved condition.

A Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines: containing a clear Exposition of their Principles and Practice. By Andrew Ure, M.D. To be completed in Ten Monthly Parts, with upwards of One Thousand engravings on Wood. Parts I. and II., 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

Dr. Ure's reputation precludes the necessity of our saying anything in proof of the accuracy and sterling worth of this publication. It is designed to embody the results of his long experience, as a professor of practical science, and will be found to supply a mass of important information to manufacturers, engineers, chemists, and other numerous classes. It is drawn up in a style at once exact and popular, and is so well illustrated as to be level to the comprehension of the generality of readers. As a book of reference, it is invaluable, and as such, must speedily find its way into every well selected library.

A General Outline of the Animal Kingdom. By Thomas Rymer Jones, F.Z.S., Professor of Comparative Anatomy, in King's College, London. Illustrated by numerous engravings on wood. Part I. 8vo. London: John Van Voorst, 1838.

The design of this work is to diminish the difficulties which have hitherto attended investigations into the structure and internal economy of the animal creation, by divesting them of verbal technicalities, and allusions to physiological principles not generally understood. It is to be completed in ten or twelve monthly parts, and to be illustrated by wood engravings in the first style of the art.

The New Excitement: or a Book to induce Young People to read, for 1839. By the editor of 'the New Excitement,' for 1838, and of 'the Excitement,' for the preceding years. Edinburgh: W. Innes.

We are glad to see another of these volumes, having witnessed in previous years the delight with which the work has been hailed by the junior branches of our family. Its design is to 'furnish innocent and amusing reading for young people, by presenting to their attention accounts of striking appearances in nature—of signal preservations experienced by individuals—and other such narratives as tend to 'make the reader imagine himself identified with the parties concerned,

‘and to enter with deep interest into their various feelings whether as ‘actors or sufferers.’ The present volume accomplishes this design very happily, by the variety and character of its narratives, and will be found, during the winter’s evenings, one of the most agreeable companions that can be introduced into the family circle. As such, we warmly recommend it to the guardians and teachers of youth.

Letters from the West Indies during a Visit in the Autumn of 1836, and the Spring of 1837. By William Lloyd, M. D. London; Darton and Harvey. 12mo.

Dr. Lloyd accompanied Messrs. Sturge, Scoble, and Harvey, to the West Indies, in 1836, and the present volume consists of the letters he wrote to his friends in England during his absence. It forms an appropriate Supplement to the publication of his friends, and will be read with pleasure by all who are interested in the benevolent object of their Mission. Those parts which refer to Demerara, a colony not touched on by Messrs. Sturge and Harvey, are the most novel and important portions of the volume.

The Christian Warrior wrestling with Sin, Satan, the World, and the Flesh. By the late Rev. Isaac Ambrose. Abridged, methodized, and improved, by the Rev. Thomas Jones, of Creaton, Northamptonshire. London: Seely and Burnside.

The merits of the original have long been known and appreciated by the religious public, and Mr. Jones has performed a good service by rendering the treatise more intelligible and acceptable. It describes the Christian’s adversaries,—shows their varied modes of attack,—gives important directions for using the Christian armour, and affords the scriptural encouragements and prospects of final victory. The abridgment will be found a suitable companion to the exercises of secret devotion.

The Parables of our Lord Explained, in Familiar Conversations between a Mother and her Children. By the Wife of an Irish Clergyman. London: Seeley and Burnside.

This book deserves a place among the most successful efforts of the present day for the benefit of the young. Its style is perspicuous and simple. Great truths are taught in plain language. Its tendency is to make the youthful mind interested in reading the Sacred Scriptures. We can cordially recommend it to Sunday-schools, and as a valuable assistant to the teacher of a domestic Bible class.

The Person and Work of Christ; being a concise but comprehensive View of the Subject. London: Davis and Porter.

The Author of this volume is no doubt a good man. He is, however, too weak to wield a sword or to wear a helmet. His attempts at Biblical criticism are ludicrous. And his arguments for ‘the truth as it is in Jesus,’ are such as will fill the enemies of the Gospel with unmingled delight.

Letters from an Absent Godfather; or a Manual of Religious Instruction for Young Persons. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, A.M., Curate of Harrow. London: Longman, Orme, and Co.

These letters are the production of a mind that knows the truths of the Gospel, but is so wedded to dogmas and ceremonies, as to be morally incompetent to give a free and full statement of *truth*; because that statement must clash with glaring errors to which it is pledged. A mass of contradiction is in consequence presented to the youthful mind. Thus, in the second letter, the dogma of Baptismal regeneration is advocated; while in the fourth, the doctrine of divine influence is maintained, and the necessity of 'the renewing of the Holy Ghost' most solemnly urged. We venture to recommend the Author to select some of the valuable instructions contained in these Letters, and to put them in another form,—a form unencumbered by the delusive errors involved in the anomalous relation of godfather and the ceremony of confirmation. And if he have moral courage to avow the truth as he knows it,—unfettered by any rites or dogmas, we confidently predict for him much peace of mind and extensive usefulness. 'Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.'

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The History of Protestant Nonconformity in England from the Reformation under Henry VIII. By Thomas Price, D.D. Vol. II.

Truths from the West Indies; including a Sketch of Madeira in 1833. By Captain Studholme Hodgson.

Sermons by the late Rev. W. Smart, Paisley. With a Memoir by his Son, the Rev. W. S. Smart, Linlithgow.

South Australia in 1837; in a Series of Letters: with a Postscript as to 1838. By Robert Gouger, Esq.

Illustrations of the Bible from the Monuments of Egypt. By W. C. Taylor, LL.D.

Letters: True Fame, a Sermon; and Prospects of Ethiopia, a Fragment. By the late Rev. John Jameson, Methron. With a Memoir of the Author by the Rev. David Young, Perth.

The Poetic Reciter; or Beauties of the British Poets; adapted for reading and pronunciation, in public and private seminaries. By Henry Marlen.

Christian Principles taught and explained in a Familiar Dialogue.

Reminiscences of South America: from two and a half years' residence in Venezuela. By John Hawkshaw, F.G.S.

A Complete Refutation of Astrology; consisting principally of a Series of Letters which appeared in the Cheltenham Chronicle, in reply to the arguments of Lieut. Morrison and others, &c. By T. H. Moody.

Plain Discourses (adapted for family reading) consisting of Lectures on the Catechism of the Church, and different parts of the Book of Common Prayer. By the Rev. W. Hutchinson, B.D.

An Elucidation of the Prophecies; being an Exposition of the Book of Daniel and the Revelation. By Joseph Tyso.